

BRODSKY AND HIS CIRCLE :
EUROPEAN CROSS-CURRENTS IN MANCHESTER
CHAMBER CONCERTS, 1895-1929

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In memoriam

Anthony Thomas Hodges (1934-2002)

He opened Pandora's box

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¹ All other translations (German, French and Italian) are the author’s.

ABSTRACT

Adolph Brodsky (1851-1929) is today remembered principally as a Russian violinist, notably as the soloist in the first performance of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto. Like many performers he has otherwise received little scholarly attention in a historiography hitherto weighted towards discussion of music as a compositional act and thereby undervaluing the roles of performers as intermediaries between composers and their audiences. This study, the first to examine Brodsky's career as a chamber musician, focusses on the interrelationship between the contacts and formative influences developed in his earlier years in Europe and the USA, and his period as Principal of the Royal Manchester College of Music, 1895-1929. It argues that these influences placed him in an advantageous position to stamp his own *imprimatur* on the repertoire he chose to present in his adopted city and thereby influence the tastes of his audiences there.

Brodsky was able to take advantage of the substantial German community in Manchester to offer a repertoire centered largely on the Austro-German canon, at the same time introducing to Manchester audiences less familiar repertoire by those composers with whom he had forged friendships in Europe. These included Grieg, Busoni and Nováček as well as Tchaikovsky and Brahms, all of whom formed part of his circle during his professorship at the Leipzig Conservatoire, 1883-1891. Building on a tradition developed by Charles Hallé, Brodsky established Manchester as a thriving centre for chamber music which not only complemented its reputation for orchestral music, created by Hallé and continued by Hans Richter, but also rivalled the contemporary chamber music culture in London. Whereas late nineteenth- and

early twentieth-century concert life in the capital is beginning to emerge as a fruitful area of study, parallel developments in Manchester have to date received next to no attention. What little body of writing exists has concentrated on orchestral music, ignoring both chamber music and the interrelationships between performers, audiences and repertoire.

This thesis charts Brodsky's increasingly predominant role in shaping the discourse of chamber music in Manchester over the best part of the two decades prior to the First World War, bringing to the city a distinctive "brand" in its chamber concerts which at that stage no other British city could offer. Central to its argument is the positioning of the war and its aftermath as a cultural watershed in Manchester, accelerating an incipient decline in the popularity of chamber concerts and necessitating the emergence of new models in order for the tradition to continue. The dissipation and increasing ostracism of the city's German community, many of whom supported Brodsky's chamber concerts, weakened the link between Brodsky and his audiences. Brodsky's absence from Manchester as a wartime internee, a questioning of the pre-eminence of the Austro-German repertoire he had championed, the rise of a younger generation of performers bringing newer repertoire, and the emergence of new audiences are all viewed as contributing to a decline in Brodsky's role within the city's post-war pattern of chamber concerts. In his final years Brodsky thus found it increasingly difficult to maintain his status within a musical landscape offering challenges to pre-war patterns of repertoire and a shifting demography of performers and audiences.

This study draws on sources including letters, concert programmes and press reports to examine Brodsky's contribution to a period in Manchester's cultural history, and to a specific musical genre, both as yet overlooked within the emerging discourse of nineteenth- and twentieth-century British music studies. It thereby accords the city its due importance as one whose musical life prior to the First World War was particularly susceptible to the absorption of European influences to carve out its own distinctive role in British chamber music, the legacy of which, though moderated by the war, was strong enough to survive and continues today.

Introduction

The inherited assumption, largely unchallenged until recent years, that the history of Western music was predominantly one of composers and their creative output, has given rise to what Nicholas Cook has aptly termed a “hierarchy of value”.

It is in the nature of things that the activities of composing, performing and appraising represent a chronological sequence... And what begins as a chronological priority somehow turns into a hierarchy of value... that is reinforced by the way it maps on to different individuals or social groups: composers, performers, and the “appraisers” who range from professional music critics and educators to music-lovers and “ordinary” listeners.¹

This is a hierarchy in which performers, let alone their audiences, have been marginalised as supporting players, the passive executants or receivers of another’s creativity and in consequence deemed to have little or no bearing on the historical discourse to which such creativity contributed. In this context it is therefore understandable that the name of Adolph Brodsky, a violinist, has surfaced more often than not simply as a footnote to the career of Tchaikovsky. That it was Brodsky who, unbeknown to the composer, persuaded Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic to give the first performance of his Violin Concerto after it had been rejected by its original dedicatee Leopold Auer, is the one detail of his career which can be said to have passed into the realm of common musical knowledge. Those seeking further biographical information about Brodsky in a standard reference work like the *New*

¹ Nicholas Cook. *Music: a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; p.17.

Grove dictionary of music and musicians might well be misled as much by its inaccuracies as by its omissions.²

The principal aim of this dissertation is not, however, to redress the balance in the form of a fully-fledged biographical study, nor to concentrate on Brodsky's career as a concert soloist. Rather it seeks to assess the role which Brodsky, and more specifically the influences formed through his contacts with European musicians during the early part of his career, played in the development of a chamber music tradition in Manchester in the period between his arrival in the city in 1895 and his death there in 1929. Furthermore, since Brodsky was able to contribute to a tradition which had become more firmly established as the nineteenth century progressed – not least owing to the efforts of Charles Hallé – some discussion of this preparatory discourse assumes a vital role in the overall argument, as does discussion of Brodsky's own earlier career in Europe and the United States. What emerges from a detailed investigation of events prior to 1895 is therefore no mere backstory. Rather it functions as a crucial context in which to place Brodsky's own significance as a chamber musician in Manchester and thus it emerges as a vital strand in the central thesis.

Chamber music in Manchester is an area which, to date, remains largely unexplored.

Rachel Gick's study of chamber music in the city in the early part of the nineteenth

² For example, Kennedy's assertion in his *New Grove* article that Brodsky was appointed to a professorship at the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1880 is contradicted by the Conservatoire's *Acta Lehrer-Anstellungen und Abgänge sowie sonstige Lehrerangelegenheiten betreffend*, which gives his contract as starting on 1 April 1883. Kennedy is also incorrect in his statement that the 'cellist Carl Fuchs was among those appointed by Brodsky to the teaching staff of the Royal Manchester College of Music. The Royal Manchester College of Music *Minutes of Council* show that that Fuchs was among those in Charles Hallé's initial batch of appointments in 1893. Michael Kennedy. "Brodsky, Adolph". *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians* www.oxfordmusiconline.com (Acc. 28.08.2012).

century establishes an important groundwork.³ Its potential as a contextual framework for further scholarship is acknowledged by the author herself in her conclusion, where she offers the opinion that

...several issues resulting from the thesis and research undertaken are worth of further study. A study of the chamber music activity which appears to have continued... after 1844 and the... inception of Hallé's chamber music concerts from 1849 is deserving of further study... This study may encourage others to extend the field to other centres, and indeed, it invites work upon other aspects of musical life... within the central and outlying districts of Manchester.⁴

Detailed studies of musical life in Manchester in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have, however, tended to focus on orchestral music, chiefly in the more specific area of the Hallé Orchestra and its founder Sir Charles Hallé and his successor Hans Richter. Among more recent studies one might cite, for example, Robert Beale's *Charles Hallé: a musical life*, or his dissertation "The Hallé Concerts Society 1899-1999: financial constraints and artistic outcomes".⁵ Ann Kersting offers

³ Rachel Christina Gick. "The emergence of the chamber music concert in Manchester during the period c.1800- c.1840: context, repertoire, institutions and performers". Mus.M dissertation: University of Manchester, 1999.

⁴ Ibid., pp.94-5.

⁵ Robert Beale. *Charles Hallé: a musical life*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007 and Robert Beale. "The Hallé Concerts Society 1899-1999: financial constraints and artistic outcomes". Ph.D. dissertation: City University, 2000. Christopher Fifield's *True artist and true friend: a biography of Hans Richter*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, remains the standard monograph on the conductor.

an interesting move away from Anglo-centric studies of Hallé in her published doctoral dissertation *Carl Hallé - Sir Charles Hallé : Ein europaischer Musiker*.⁶

This is also the case with Wilfred Allis's dissertation "The Gentlemen's Concerts: Manchester 1777-1920".⁷ Writing from a sociological perspective, Allis is primarily concerned with providing a history of the Gentlemen's Concerts and with positioning them within the sociocultural structure of an emergent industrial city. It is also to this theme which he returns in his later dissertation "Music and class in nineteenth century Manchester".⁸ Important as these two studies are in offering a social context for specific aspects of Manchester's musical life, their remit does not include any critical discussion of a performed repertoire and they moreover make little or no mention of musical activity in the sphere of chamber music.

As Cook's "hierarchy of value" implies, examination of music in its social context is indeed one of musicology's newer fields of research, questioning an approach which has until the last twenty years or so marginalised study of the social context of music, of its performers and its audiences, in favour of concentration on composers and their output. Moreover, the persistence of the commonplace designation of nineteenth-century Britain as the land without music, itself a product of such hierarchical thinking, has further coloured critical attitudes to Britain's role in shaping the period's musical landscape. Yet, as Bennett Zon has remarked:

⁶ Ann Kersting. *Carl Hallé - Sir Charles Hallé: Ein europaischer Musiker*. Hagen: Kommissionsverlag v.d. Linnepe, 1986 (Beitrage zur westfalischen Musikgeschichte, 19).

⁷ Wilfred Allis. "The Gentlemen's Concerts: Manchester 1777-1920". M.Phil. dissertation: University of Manchester, 1995.

⁸ Wilfred Allis. "Music and class in nineteenth century Manchester". Ph.D. dissertation: University of Manchester, 2002.

Although the nineteenth century has often been viewed as a fallow period in musical culture, it is clear from the vast extent of current scholarship that this view is entirely erroneous. Far from being a “land without music”, nineteenth century Britain abounded with musical activity.⁹

A growing body of scholarship is beginning to challenge the narrow definitions on which the received view of nineteenth-century British music has hitherto been predicated. It has already begun to reveal that, by widening the musical discourse to include the development of concert life, Britain’s contribution was, conversely, one of the richest in Europe. When widened further to include the “long nineteenth century” it is already sufficiently well established to have brought to the fore a number of significant researchers, among them Rachel Cowgill, Christina Bashford, Leanne Langley or Fiona Palmer. A good deal of such cultural study has to date concentrated largely on the nineteenth century; within this emergent community of scholars there has been less of a tendency to move into the twentieth century, and certainly beyond the First World War. Several major studies in this area have also chosen to focus on concert life in London. One such is Christina Bashford’s monograph on the London career of the chamber musician and concert promoter John Ella, *The pursuit of high culture*, itself based on a pioneering doctoral dissertation.¹⁰ Central to Bashford’s study is Ella’s determination, not only to preserve the inherited social exclusivity of the chamber music concert, but consciously to promote the sacralisation of chamber music and the concert

⁹ Editor’s preface to *Music and performance culture in nineteenth century Britain; essays in honour of Nicholas Temperley*. Edited by Bennett Zon. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p.xxi.

¹⁰ Christina Bashford. *The pursuit of high culture: John Ella and chamber music in Victorian London*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007 (Music in Britain, 1600-1900). See also her “Public chamber music concerts in London, 1835-1850: aspects of history, repertory and reception”. Ph.D.: University of London, 1996.

experience as an expression of his belief in music as having a moral and educational imperative. Alan Bartley's *Far from the fashionable crowd* complements Bashford in focussing both on the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries and on attempts to extend the concept of music as a moral agent, in this case to London's working class communities.¹¹ It makes for interesting comparison with the activities in Manchester of Charles Rowley's Ancoats Brotherhood, discussed here in Chapter 6. There are, however, notable exceptions to these Londoncentric studies such as those included in the symposium *Music in the British provinces, 1690-1914*, edited by Rachel Cowgill, which widens both the temporal and geographical field of study.¹² It contains a number of papers whose themes are at least tangential to that of the present study, including Meredith McFarlane's discussion of "The string quartet in eighteenth-century provincial concert life"¹³ and Rachel Milestone's examination of music-making in a town within the Manchester diaspora: " 'That monstrosity of bricks and mortar' the Town Hall as a music venue in nineteenth-century Stalybridge".¹⁴

Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley's *Festschrift Music in British culture, 1785-1914: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich* offers a somewhat wider context in that its remit covers musical activity both within and beyond London.¹⁵ A significant contribution here is Dave Russell's *Musicians in the English provincial city: Manchester c.1860-1914*, which, although it concentrates on the careers of

¹¹ Alan Bartley. *Far from the fashionable crowd: the People's Concert Society and music in London's suburbs*. [s.l.]: Whimbrel Publishing, 2009.

¹² Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, eds. *Music in the British provinces, 1690-1914*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.129-150.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.55-77.

¹⁵ Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds. *Music in British culture, 1785-1914: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2000.

orchestral musicians, does take in the broad sweep of the city's musical culture from Hallé's establishment of his eponymous orchestra and the beginnings of his ascendancy in the Gentleman's Concerts through to the high point of Brodsky's own pre-war chamber concerts.¹⁶ Broader still is the primarily sociological *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939*, edited by John K. Walton and James Walvin.¹⁷ Nevertheless, two articles therein prove to be of particular relevance. Richard Roberts discusses the role of local government as patrons of popular music the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in two British seaside resorts in "The Corporation as impresario: the municipal provision of entertainment in Victorian and Edwardian Bournemouth".¹⁸ John Walton's discussion of the growth of the Blackpool holiday industry during the same period, "Municipal government and the holiday industry in Blackpool, 1876-1914" is particularly apposite given that Simon Speelman, principal viola of the Hallé Orchestra and a founder member of the Manchester Brodsky Quartet, was a long-standing Director of the Blackpool North Pier Orchestra, and that the Brodsky Quartet itself made regular annual appearances at the town's Norbreck Hydro.¹⁹ The theme of music-making in a British seaside resort, particularly in relation to the impact made by an individual musician, is also taken up by Paul Watt in his 2009 article on music at the New Brighton Tower in the closing years of the Victorian era which, *inter alia*, gives some insight into the activities elsewhere in the North West of several musicians otherwise associated with Brodsky's circle in Manchester.²⁰

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.233-253.

¹⁷ John K. Walton and James Walvin, eds. *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.137-158.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.159-186.

²⁰ Paul Watt. "A gigantic and popular place of entertainment: Granville Bantock and the music making at the New Brighton Tower in the 1890s". *RMA Research Chronicle*: 42, (2009), pp.109-164.

Nicolas Bell's discussion of papers in the British Library (BL) relating to Henry Rensburg's private chamber concerts in Liverpool also mentions this in passing; however, personal detailed investigation of the papers revealed a wealth of information on crossover between both players and repertoire in Liverpool and Manchester far beyond that which the article itself suggests.²¹ This is discussed at the end of Chapter 1. Jeffrey Richards' monograph *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* is impressively wide-ranging in its coverage and seeks to understand not just the musical activities of an imperial age, but the mind-set that lay behind them.²² This is particularly significant when approaching the impact of the First World War on a largely Austro-German facing chamber music tradition in Manchester. One might add too Christoph Jahr's discussion of the war's realignment of national identities in "Grenzen, Zentren und Peripherien nach 1918. Die Auswirkungen des Ersten Weltkriegs auf die Gesellschaften, Staaten und Nationen Europas".²³ Surprisingly, music is the one area not discussed in an otherwise seminal study in the field of British social life in the First World War: George Robb's *British culture and the First World War*.²⁴ The theme is, however, taken up in Jane Angell's more recent dissertation "Art music in British public discourse during the First World War".²⁵

²¹ Nicolas Bell. "Chamber music in the home: Henry Rensburg's concerts in Liverpool". *Brio*: 45/1 (Spring/Summer 2008), pp.43-52.

²² Jeffrey Richards. *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

²³ Christoph Jahr. "Grenzen, Zentren und Peripherien nach 1918. Die Auswirkungen des Ersten Weltkriegs auf die Gesellschaften, Staaten und Nationen Europas". *Von Grenzen und Ländern, Zentren und Ränder: die Erste Weltkrieg und die Verschiebungen in der musikalischen Geographie Europas*. Herausgegeben von Christa Brüstle, Guido Helt und Eckhard Weber. Schliengren im Markgräferland, 2006, pp.41-55.

²⁴ George Robb. *British culture and the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002 (Social history in perspective).

Studies of Manchester from a social or demographic viewpoint have tended to focus on its development as an industrial power during the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite its titular remit, this is the case, for example, in Simon Gunn's *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914*.²⁶ The title of the 2013 symposium *Culture in Manchester: institutions and urban change since 1850* promises a more nuanced view of the city since the mid-century, but makes only passing reference to music and none at all to the Royal Manchester College of Music.²⁷

To date no major biographical study of Adolph Brodsky himself has been published. The most substantial biographical source is Anna Brodsky's *Recollections of a Russian home*, first published in 1904 and therefore by implication unable to offer any coverage of anything beyond the first decade or so of Brodsky's career in Manchester.²⁸ This has recently appeared in a Russian translation, expanded to include, *inter alia*, transcripts of the Brodsky-Tchaikovsky correspondence and information concerning the Skadowsky family, to which Anna belonged.²⁹ Neither of

²⁵ Jane Angell. "Art music in British public discourse during the First World War". Ph.D. dissertation: Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2014. C.f. [https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/art-music-in-british-public-discourse-during-the-first-world-war\(d05ee7d8-fc57-443a-90db-99a4c15f7a91\).html](https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/art-music-in-british-public-discourse-during-the-first-world-war(d05ee7d8-fc57-443a-90db-99a4c15f7a91).html) (Acc. 2 January 2016).

²⁶ Simon Gunn. *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

²⁷ Janet Wolff with Mike Savage, eds. *Culture in Manchester: institutions and urban change since 1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

²⁸ Anna Brodsky. *Recollections of a Russian home: a musician's experience*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1904. Rep. 1914.

²⁹ Anna Brodsky. *Voslominaniya o russkom domye: Adolf Brodskii, Pyetr Chaikovskii, Edvard Grig v myemurakh, dnyevnikakh, pismakh*. Moskva: Isdatyelstvo Dom "Koktyebel", 2006.

these, however, moves beyond offering largely selective and by implication subjectively nuanced biographical material. Brodsky is also mentioned in passing in two more recent local history publications focussing on the Manchester suburb of Bowdon, to which the Brodsky's moved in 1903. These are Frank Bamford's *Mansions and men of Dunham Massey*³⁰ and Bowdon Historical Society's *Bowdon and Dunham Massey*.³¹ They are useful in that they paint a picture of Bowdon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by which time it had become one of a number of affluent Manchester suburbs which arose to meet the needs of railway commuters. The conductor Hans Richter was also a resident of Bowdon and the composer John Ireland was born there.

Brodsky himself left no autobiographical writing beyond an interview with Frederick George Edwards used as the basis for an article published in the *Musical Times* in 1903.³² Some of the correspondence for this survives in the Edwards Papers in British Library Egerton MSS 3096.³³ From the same period dates a short biographical entry in Adolph Kohut's *Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*.³⁴ The extent to which Brodsky merits inclusion

³⁰ Frank Bamford. *Mansions and men of Dunham Massey; from errant earl to red dean*. Altrincham: Frank Bamford, 1991.

³¹ *Bowdon and Dunham Massey*. Compiled by Bowdon Historical Society. Brimscombe Port: Tempus Publishing, 1991 (Images of England).

³² "Adolph Brodsky". *The Musical Times*: Vol. 44, No. 722 (Apr. 1, 1903), pp. 225-227. Some autograph sketches towards this article also survive at the RNCM.

³³ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Frederick George Edwards, editor of *The Musical Times*, 22 March 1903.

³⁴ Adolph Kohut. *Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*: Lebens- und Charakterbildern aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Leipzig-Reudnitz: A.H. Payne, c.1900-1901. Erster Band, pp.84-85.

in a lexicon of Jewish musicians is open to question. His wedding certificate shows that he was married according to rites of the Russian Orthodox Church at the St Peter and Paul church in Sebastopol on 1 May 1880 (OS) and his funeral took place at Altrincham Unitarian church.³⁵ Kohut's authority is also called into question by his inclusion of the non-Jewish Max Bruch. The unqualified assertion of Brodsky as being Jewish appeared more recently in Michael Kennedy's article in the first edition of the *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, but was removed in the second edition.³⁶

A further, late biographical sketch by C.A. Bell appeared in *The Strad* magazine in 1928.³⁷ From outside Britain there is an article from 1921 by Max Graf in the *Wiener Journal*.³⁸ More recent biographical sketches are those by Ernst Zaltsberg and Clifford Knowles.³⁹ Whereas Zaltsberg's article is largely indebted to those pre-existing sources listed above, the latter, published in two parts in the RNCM in-house magazine *Music Matters*, has the initial advantage of having been written by a former pupil of Brodsky, but nevertheless remains a largely anecdotal reminiscence.⁴⁰

³⁵ RNCM/AB 169.

³⁶ Michael Kennedy. "Brodsky, Adolph". *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan, 1980. Vol.3, p.329.

³⁷ C.A. Bell. "Adolph Brodsky". *The Strad*: XXXIX, No.458 (June, 1928), pp.88-92.

³⁸ Max Graf. "Glossen über Kunst und Kultur. (Dr.Adolph Brodsky)". *Wiener Journal*: 30 January 1921, pp.7-8.

³⁹ Ernst Zaltsberg. "A. Brodsky, a son of Russia, a stepson of Manchester". *Great Russian musicians: from Rubinstein to Richter*. Niagara Falls, NY: Mosaic Press, 2002, pp.21-35. A commemoration by the same author of the eightieth anniversary of Brodsky's death can also be found at Ernst Zaltsberg. *Сын России, пасынок Англии: К 80-летию со дня смерти А. Бродского*. <http://magazines.russ.ru/slovo/2009/61/za24.html> (Acc. 03.11.2011). This is largely a Russian translation of the foregoing.

⁴⁰ Clifford Knowles. "Brodsky in Manchester". *Music Matters*: Vols.21-22 (1986), *passim*. The unpublished original version of this article is in the possession Clifford Knowles' grand-daughter Jenny Corder. A personal conversation (27.10.2011) revealed that she wished at

Numerous references to Brodsky also abound in the autobiographical *Recollections of Carl Fuchs*, 'cellist, by Carl Fuchs, 'cellist of the Manchester Brodsky Quartet.⁴¹

Sources based on first-hand acquaintance are, however, by their nature liable to be both selective and subjective. Neither Fuchs nor Knowles set out to offer a scholarly study. Their aim – as indeed is Anna Brodsky's – is as much to entertain as to inform. Nevertheless, once the caveat of selectivity is understood, each of these biographical (or autobiographical) sources can be seen as playing their own part in contributing towards a framework for more in-depth study.

More detailed studies, to date, have focussed principally on Brodsky's correspondence with others; or, more specifically, correspondence of which Brodsky was the recipient. Here the coverage is patchy. The earliest is Thomas Pitfield's pioneering article on the letters from Tchaikovsky which appeared in *The Listener* in 1964.⁴² It was followed three years later by Øystein Gaukstad's publication of some of the letters from Grieg over three articles in the Norwegian journal *Norsk Musikk Tidsskrift*.⁴³ Finn Benestad and William Halverson, in their 2001 publication *Edvard Grieg: letters to colleagues and friends*, appear to have taken Gaukstad's article, rather than the letters themselves, as their source for Grieg's letters to Brodsky.⁴⁴ Not only is their publication restricted only to those letters discussed by Gaukstad,

some stage to publish this electronically, but was unaware that it had previously appeared in *Music Matters*.

⁴¹ Carl Fuchs. *Musical and other recollections*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1937. [An edited translation of the author's *Erinnerungen eines Offenbacher 'Cellisten*].

⁴² Thomas Baron Pitfield. "Letters from Tchaikovsky to Brodsky". *The Listener*. 19 April 1962, pp.683-684.

⁴³ Øystein Gaukstad. "Edvard Grieg og Adolf Brodsky". *Norsk Musikk Tidsskrift*: 1967, No.1 (March) / No.2 (June) / No.3 (October).

⁴⁴ *Edvard Grieg: Letters to colleague and friends*. Edited and translated by Finn Benestad and William H. Halverson. Columbus, OH: Peer Gynt Press, 2001.

but they also fail to acknowledge any source for the autographs.⁴⁵ Benestad and Halverson have nevertheless provided a useful service by publishing in their companion volume *Edvard Grieg: diaries, articles, speeches* Grieg's diary entries for the visit of the Brodskys to Troidhaugen in August 1906.⁴⁶ Currently, the most comprehensive discussion of Grieg's relationship with music in England remains Lionel Carley's 2006 study *Edvard Grieg in England*.⁴⁷ This in turn builds on his earlier paper "Edvard Grieg and musical life in England", published in the Danish symposium *Musik og Forskning*.⁴⁸ Finally, two further articles each deal with a single, specific letter: Styra Avins in "Six unpublished letters from Johannes Brahms"⁴⁹ and Lucinde Braun and Grigorij Mosieev in "Zur Drucklegung des 2. Streichquartetts – Ein bisher unbekannter Brief Čaikovskijs an den Geiger Adol'f Brodskij".⁵⁰

None of the foregoing publications attempts to reconstruct a two-way correspondence using reciprocal letters from Brodsky. This is, however, the case in my own 2005 article dealing with the correspondence between both Adolph and

⁴⁵ There is no record of the editors having contacted the Royal Northern College of Music, where the letters are now housed. At the time of Gaukstad's article the letters were at the Royal Manchester College of Music.

⁴⁶ *Edvard Grieg: Diaries, articles, speeches*. Edited and translated by Finn Benestad and William H. Halverson. Columbus, OH: Peer Gynt Press, 2001.

⁴⁷ Lionel Carley. *Edvard Grieg in England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006.

⁴⁸ Lionel Carley. "Edvard Grieg and musical life in England". *Musik & Forskning*: 19 (1993-94), pp.73-94.

⁴⁹ Styra Avins and Josef Eisinger. "Six unpublished letters from Johannes Brahms". *For the love of music: Festschrift in honor of Theodore Front on his 90th birthday*. Edited by Darwin F. Scott. Lucca: Antiqua, 2002, pp.105-135.

⁵⁰ Lucinde Braun and Grigorij Moiseev. "Zur Drucklegung des 2. Streichquartetts – Ein bisher unbekannter Brief Čaikovskijs an den Geiger Adol'f Brodskij". *Tchaikovsky-Gesellschaft: Mitteilungen*: 18 (2011), pp.33-41.

Anna Brodsky and Edward and Alice Elgar.⁵¹ This was, moreover, the first time that the Brodsky-Elgar letters at the RNCM and the Elgar Birthplace Museum had been published *in extenso*. A subsequent article concerning Grieg's visits to Manchester also draws on letters from Brodsky to Grieg in the Griegsamling of the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek as well as those from Grieg to Brodsky at the Royal Northern College of Music.⁵² A further one draws *passim* on reciprocal correspondence between Brodsky and Sir Charles Hallé in discussing the nature of the former's appointment to the staff of the Royal Manchester College of Music.⁵³ At the time of writing the most recent publication to deal with letters to Brodsky is that by Ronald de Vet in the *Mitteilungen* of the German *Tchaikovsky-Gesellschaft*, which discusses letters from Tchaikovsky's brother Modest.⁵⁴

Unpublished sources

The principal primary source for unpublished material relating to Brodsky is the Adolph Brodsky Collection at the Royal Northern College of Music.⁵⁵ Totalling over a thousand items, it contains those autograph letters to Brodsky and his wife Anna mentioned above, as well as photographs, press cuttings, concert programmes and printed music. The collection came into the possession of the former Royal Manchester College of Music after the death of Anna Brodsky's nephew Leon Picard

⁵¹ Geoffrey Thomason. "Yours very sincerely, Edward Elgar: the Elgar-Brodsky correspondence at the RNCM". *Brio*: 42/1 (Spring/Summer 2005), pp.32-53.

⁵² Geoffrey Thomason. "Grieg in Manchester: sidelights on a centenary". *Brio*: 44/2 (Autumn/Winter 2007), pp.37-49.

⁵³ Geoffrey Thomason. "Hess, huffs and Hallé facts: staff appointments in the early years of the Royal Manchester College of Music". *Manchester Sounds*: 3 (2000), pp.55-67.

⁵⁴ Ronald de Vet. "Adolf Brodskij und Modest Čaikovskij im Briefwechsel". *Tchaikovsky-Gesellschaft: Mitteilungen*: 18 (2011), pp.204-215.

⁵⁵ Hereafter RNCM.

in 1958.⁵⁶ He was the son of Anna's sister Olga Picard, née Skadovsky, who as a widow had come to England from Russia in the 1920s to live with the Brodskys at their home at 3 Laurel Mount, Bowdon. The house passed to Olga on Anna's death in September 1929 and thereafter to her son Leon after her own death – at the age of 102 – in 1954. The unmarried Leon died four years later, whereupon the collection was brought to the RMCM through the agency of the composer Thomas Pitfield and his wife Alice, who were also Bowdon residents. According to a conversation between the author and Pitfield, Leon Picard had become an eccentric recluse, and the house was consequently in disarray at the time of his death. Pitfield and his Russian-speaking wife, who knew the Picards, were able to gain access to the house to salvage items of importance before it was cleared.

Complementing this collection are the papers of the 'cellist Carl Fuchs, given to the RNCM by his granddaughters Delia and Tessa Fuchs in 2011-2012, and those of the violist Simon Speelman in the archives of the Hallé Concert Society. Fuchs, like Speelman, was a sometime Hallé Orchestra section leader and a member of Brodsky's Manchester string quartet from its founding in 1895. Both Fuchs and Speelman were among Charles Hallé's first cohort of staff appointments to the RMCM in 1893.⁵⁷

Of those collections outside Manchester which hold Brodsky material, several contain letters which provide the other half of correspondence held at the RNCM. The letters

⁵⁶ Hereafter RMCM.

⁵⁷ Fuchs was a member until 1919 and again from 1926 until Brodsky's death in 1929. Simon Speelman remained a member of the quartet until his own death in 1920. The RMCM's *Minutes of Council* list Speelman as primarily a teacher of violin.

from Adolph and Anna Brodsky to Edvard and Nina Grieg in the Griegsamling at the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, mentioned above, constitute one of the more substantial of such collections held in a single location. Numerous letters from both Anna and Adolph to (principally) Edward Elgar and his wife Alice are housed at the Elgar Birthplace Museum at Lower Broadheath. As with the letters to Grieg, they provide at least a partial complement to the reciprocal correspondence held at the RNCM. This is also occasionally true of those letters from Adolph Brodsky held in several German collections, notably letters to Ferruccio Busoni at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Another notable collection, although predating Brodsky's Manchester career, comprises his letters to Tchaikovsky, now at the Tchaikovsky House-Museum in Klin.⁵⁸

While much of the information on Brodsky's pedagogic activity in Manchester is to be found in the administrative archives of the RMCM, now housed at the RNCM, sources of information on his public career as a performer are more disparate. Accounts and reviews in contemporary newspapers and journals have proved invaluable here, as have surviving concert programmes. The Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester holds substantial runs of programmes for concert series with which the Brodsky Quartet was associated, the chief of these being the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, concerts given at the Schiller-Anstalt and those given in connection with Charles Rowley's Ancoats Brotherhood. Manchester Central Library also holds correspondence between the Brodskys and members of the Skadovsky

⁵⁸ Published in Anna Brodsky. *Voslominaniya o russkom domye: Adolf Brodskii, Pyetr Chaikovskii, Edvard Grig v myemurakh, dnyevnikakh, pismakh*. Moskva: Isdatelstvo Dom "Koktyebel", 2006. This is itself a translation of Anna Brodsky's *Recollections of a Russian home: a musician's experience*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1904. Rep. 1914. Tchaikovsky's letters to Adolph Brodsky are now, with one exception, at the RNCM. One letter was given to the pianist John Ogdon on his becoming joint winner of the International Tchaikovsky Competition in 1962; the RNCM retains a copy.

family and contacts in Manchester which date from the period of Brodsky's internment in Austria at the outbreak of the First World War.

Among those collections charting chamber music activity in other major British centres can be cited programmes for the St James Hall Monday and Saturday Popular concerts, many of which form part of the Hans Richter Archive acquired by the Hallé Concerts Society in the summer of 2012.⁵⁹

Although the principal aim of this dissertation is to examine Brodsky's contribution to chamber music in Manchester during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, several important complementary areas of study merit investigation in providing necessary contexts for Brodsky's activities in the city. The first of these is the chamber music tradition developed by Charles Hallé, himself the agent through which Brodsky was to come to Manchester in the first place. This is discussed in Chapter 1. Not only did Hallé establish his own pioneering series of chamber concerts in the late 1840s, but he also subsequently succeeded in steering the repertoire of the Gentlemen's Concerts away from largely miscellaneous programmes towards concerts in which chamber music played a central role. Although implicit in his agenda was the provision of a platform for his own talents as a pianist, he was able to create an audience for chamber music in Manchester, not least among its largely bourgeois German community, which Brodsky was able to use to his advantage when he came to establish his own concerts there.

⁵⁹ Other copies are held in the British Library (BL) c.371 d.

Chapter 2 examines a further context for Brodsky's own approach to repertoire and concert planning; his early career, particularly the crucial period 1883-1891 when he was a professor at the Leipzig Conservatoire. Here he founded his first string quartet and made lasting contacts with composers including Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Grieg and Busoni - the "circle" which, either through continued personal contact or promotion of their chamber music, is identified here as having a profound influence on the repertoire he chose to introduce to Manchester audiences.

Brodsky's brief and ultimately unsuccessful career as leader of Walter Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra and his increasingly frustrating attempt to maintain some degree of connectedness with his cultural roots as a European musician in the United States is discussed in Chapter 3. This argues that, although brief, this period was to prove a critical watershed in Brodsky's career, offering significant clues as to his readiness to return to Europe and to respond to Hallé's invitation to come to Manchester.

After the move to Manchester in 1895, Brodsky made renewed efforts both to re-establish a sense of cultural identity and to reforge personal or musical links with his circle, where possible though the actual presence of musical friends and colleagues. Chapter 4 draws in particular on correspondence with Grieg and Busoni to demonstrate the strength of Brodsky's determination both to welcome the composers to Manchester and to engage as a performer in promoting their chamber music to Manchester audiences. It demonstrates that Brodsky was sufficiently eager to re-establish these links that he was willing to prioritise realising them despite the

unforeseen challenge posed by his appointment as Principal of the RMCM after the death of Charles Hallé.

Especially where composers from Brodsky's Leipzig circle were no longer alive, promoting their music as a means of sustaining their memory emerges as the predominant theme in the chamber concerts series in which Brodsky or his quartet was involved. Three of these are examined as case studies in Chapters 5-6 and 8-9. These are Brodsky's own Brodsky Quartet Concerts, concerts given for Charles Rowley's Ancoats Brotherhood, and those given as part of the Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts during and after the First World War. Between them they outline a narrative of pre-war ascendancy for Brodsky but also of subsequent post-war decline, marked by his increasing struggles to come to terms with loss of pre-war hegemony and with the changing landscape of Manchester's chamber music and its audiences occasioned by the war itself. The changing fortunes of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts in the years leading to and during the First World War are seen to complement a lessened audience interest in chamber concerts as noted by the Manchester press. The Tuesday Mid-day Concerts are thus viewed not merely as an offshoot of the Committee for Music in Wartime but as a response to the need to rethink the model for Manchester's chamber concerts. This new model brought a widening of the repertoire beyond the Austro-German canon favoured by Brodsky and also offered a platform for a younger generation of performers, including an increasing number of female musicians. The dilemma posed by the continued presence of an Austro-German repertoire within the context of a growing wartime hostility to other aspects of German culture, and Brodsky's inability to contribute to its resolution, form the central argument, in Chapter 6, in discussion of his involvement with the Ancoats Brotherhood.

Chapter 7 expands the context by examining the very differing experiences of Brodsky and his quartet's 'cellist Carl Fuchs as wartime internees, presenting them as important turning points in the careers of the two musicians. Fuchs was to emerge as the more able to appreciate the need to move in new directions while Brodsky, in attempting to continue as before, was to end his days, still as a highly respected figure, but one now seen principally as representative of a previous era which could not be recaptured.

Chapter 1

Chamber music in Manchester before Brodsky – the Hallé tradition

On his arrival in Manchester in the summer of 1895, Adolph Brodsky would have found himself in a city whose thriving musical culture, while at professional level still predominantly orchestral, had nevertheless carved out a smaller role for concerts of chamber music. Brodsky had been invited to Manchester by Charles Hallé primarily to serve both its established orchestral tradition and its emergent pedagogic one. Hallé had sought him out as leader of his orchestra and Professor of Violin at the RMCM, which had opened in 1893. Although Brodsky was to play a vital role in intensifying the role of chamber music in his adoptive city, the blueprint had been provided to a great extent by Hallé himself. For it was Hallé who, from the mid-century onwards, was to emerge as the dominant figure in chamber music as much as in orchestral music. Finding the chamber music tradition in Manchester to be at a somewhat embryonic stage and lacking consistency, he was to shape it with sufficient aplomb – and self-interest – to bequeath to Brodsky a foundation that was strong enough to build on. It is therefore appropriate to investigate further the position of chamber music in nineteenth-century Manchester both as Hallé found it and as he was to develop it.

Public concerts in Manchester in the first part of the nineteenth century were dominated by the Gentlemen's Concerts, which were to prove one of the most durable landmarks in the musical history of the city. Founded by a group of amateur flautists in 1777, and thus predating the founding of the Hallé Orchestra in 1858 by some seven decades, they ran until 1920 and therefore provide something of a cultural and demographic mirror of the city's rise from the early days of the Industrial

Revolution to its latter position as one of the commercial powerhouses of the British Empire.¹ They were by no means unique to Manchester, for, as Wilfred Allis has noted “Gentlemen’s concerts became established throughout Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and tended to be for the purposes of mutual enjoyment and business rather than exact rendering, for they were predominantly amateur”.²

Manchester’s Gentlemen’s Concerts occupy an important position in the musical history of the city for a number of reasons, not least that, in regard to Allis’s observations, they operated as a professional rather than an amateur enterprise. Not only did their orchestral concerts complement those given by the Hallé Orchestra after its foundation, but they functioned as a major vehicle for chamber music performances in the city during the latter half of the nineteenth century and thereby established a tradition which Brodsky was able to carry into the early decades of the twentieth. Simon Gunn has pointed out that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Manchester was not alone among provincial cities in having a concert life that lacked “a stable and continuous organisational basis”, but he prefers to see the Gentlemen’s Concerts as standing apart from other musical activities on account of their socially exclusive nature.³ Although Manchester as yet lacked any kind of concert series dedicated to chamber music, in its ability to incorporate it into the programmes of the Gentlemen’s Concerts the city was at least more fortunate than, for example, Leeds, where an attempt at establishing chamber concerts at Walton’s Music Saloon in 1837 foundered after less than a decade through lack of finance.⁴ Indeed, the role of the

¹ Michael Kennedy gives a start date of “about 1770”. See Michael Kennedy. “Manchester before Hallé”. *Manchester Sounds*: 1 (2000), pp.5-11.

² Wilfred Allis. “The Gentlemen’s Concerts: Manchester 1777-1920”, pp.18-19.

³ Simon Gunn. *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007, p.136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.136.

Gentlemen's Concerts in the promotion of chamber music can be seen to increase as their importance as orchestral concerts diminished in parallel with the Hallé's growing reputation. Hallé was himself to become the dominant controlling figure in both institutions, as both conductor and pianist, and would thereby play his own part in steering the Gentlemen's Concerts in the direction of chamber music. Their target audience was also self-selecting in terms of gender and social background, creating defined parameters for any study of the concerts from a sociological viewpoint. The survival of the majority of concert programmes for the series from 1798 onwards moreover enables a study of how the performed repertoire of the Gentlemen's Concerts changed over an extended period, reflecting not merely changing taste on the part of audiences but the preferences of individual performers.⁵ In particular they reveal how a venture which started life principally as a vehicle for orchestral and vocal performances became, in its final flowering, one in which chamber music occupied a prime position. It was in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall that Brodsky was later to establish his own series of public chamber concerts.

Yet, if the Gentlemen's Concerts alone are taken as an indication of the status of chamber music in Manchester prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, the picture that emerges is patchy in the extreme. As evidenced by the programmes, at this time the miscellaneous concert reigned supreme. Chamber music was but one genre in concerts which might also include orchestral, instrumental and above all vocal items. This can be understood in part as inherent in the nature of the genre. Pace Johann Salomon's inclusion of chamber works in his London concerts in the 1790s, its transition from private to public performance was still in its early infancy. The programme for a concert given in July 1803 lists a "Quartett for violin, viola, flute

⁵ In the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Central Library (MCL).

and cello obbligato” by Pleyel but, as is the wont with most of these early programmes, offers no further details.⁶ A “Concertante Quartet” by Wranitzky performed at the Gentlemen’s Concerts in September the same year proves to be a genuine string quartet, as the players are named.⁷ Further works by Pleyel, including a “New Concertante Quartet” with the same scoring as that cited above, feature in concerts given in between 1803 and 1806, alongside works by Hoffmeister and Mozart.⁸

The Mozart, performed in December 1803 and once again frustratingly referred to once again simply as a “Concertante Quartet”, marks the first entry in to the Gentlemen’s Concerts of a chamber work from what the later nineteenth century might have deemed canonic repertoire. In July 1806 a “Quartetto [for] two violins, viola and violoncello” by Beethoven was performed. Once more no further details are given, but this can only have been one of the op.18 quartets, as op.59 first appeared in print only in 1808.⁹ Beethoven’s Septet made its debut in the Gentlemen’s Concerts in January 1807 and was repeated the following August, signalling a brief period in which Beethoven’s works, which ultimately were to dominate Brodsky’s programmes, appear to have been gaining in ascendancy.¹⁰ The “Quartetto (Air with Variations)” by Beethoven performed in November 1807 is

⁶ MCL R.780.69 Me68. Whether or not this was identical to the “Concertante” by Pleyel given two days previously is open to question.

⁷ Weichsel, Penson, Hime and William Sudlow. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ The op.18 quartets were first published in 1801. The date of the first English reprint, by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis, is given tentatively as 1805 by Kinsky. Georg Kinsky. *Das Werk Beethovens: thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen...* München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1955; p.44. Gick erroneously gives the date of the Manchester performance as 1807.

¹⁰ It was first published in 1802. Kinsky, Op. cit., pp.48-52. The Gentlemen’s Concerts programme lists it as “Septuor”.

likely to be the *Andante cantabile* of op.18 no.5. This begs the question as to whether the “Quartetto” performed in 1807 was indeed a whole work rather than a single movement. With only minor exceptions, no more chamber music was given at the concerts until July 1812, when the Beethoven Septet was given yet again.

In the period 1803-1814 these remain the sole examples of chamber music being performed in concerts which otherwise offered a *pot pourri* of orchestral works, solo and part-songs, and choral works, with the oratorios of Handel and Haydn emerging as the most popular examples in the last category. The fact that, with only two exceptions, all the chamber music appears in the programmes for between 1803 and 1807 might suggest an experiment that proved unsuccessful. Evidence that some members of the audiences didn't always give the performances their undivided attention is provided by a notice “by order of the Committee” promulgated in 1809, including an injunction to the effect that:

It is with reluctance that the MANAGERS of the GENTLEMEN'S CONCERT [sic] take this method of animadverting on that confused Noise and Conversation, which has lately prevailed in the Room, during the Performance.

The attention of a great part of the Audience, as well as that of the Performers, is seriously interrupted by this improper habit ...¹¹

One might surmise from the timing of the notice that firstly, such distractions were particularly noticeable in the more intimate atmosphere of a chamber music performance and secondly, that the majority of the audience did prefer to give their attention to the music. It is however noticeable that chamber music was indeed slow

¹¹ Gentlemen's Concerts. Programmes May 1804-14. MCL E000 295787.

to re-establish any kind of presence in the concerts' programming. Programmes for the 1820s yield no more than three works, two of which are little more than salon novelties.¹² The third is more substantial: the "Quintett – Beethoven" played in April 1828. This was presumably the op.29 quintet, which was to prove a favourite work of Brodsky's.¹³ The situation remained little changed throughout the following decade. Aside from a small sprinkling of instrumental solos, often interpolated to show off the talents of a visiting celebrity, there is virtually nothing.¹⁴

In 1830 the concerts acquired a purpose-built venue, which opened on 30 August.¹⁵ It cannot have helped but reinforce the concerts' exclusive status, a point echoed by Fiona Palmer in her discussion of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society's first hall, which opened in 1849. "Like many institutions, the Liverpool Philharmonic Society used the impressive statement possible through the acquisition of land, bricks and mortar, to underline its status, presence and aspirations for permanence".¹⁶

¹² On 11 January 1821 Miss Paton and Miss Isabelle Paton played an anonymous "Duet concertante, harp and piano forte" and a "Concertante violin and piano-forte" by Mayseder was performed by Mr. Mori and Mr. W.P. Beale on 5 September 1825. MCL R.780.69 Me 68.

¹³ MCL *ibid.* Christina Bashford, in her study of John Ella's chamber concerts for the Musical Union in London, draws attention the popularity which the quintet enjoyed in the mid-nineteenth century but which was to wane in later decades. C.f. Christina Bashford. *The pursuit of high culture: John Ella and chamber music in Victorian London*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007 (Music in Britain, 1600-1900), p.285.

¹⁴ For example the visit by the violinist Beriot in October 1830, and even here the mere description "Fantasia – violin" leaves open the question as to whether this was accompanied by piano or orchestra. The double bass virtuoso Dragonetti played in his own "Trio, violin, violoncello & contra basso" in October 1831. A novelty is the "Septetto (Wind instruments and basso)" by Neukomm performed in June 1833. MCL E000 295787.

¹⁵ Allis. *Op. cit.*, p.48. It stood on the site later occupied by the Midland Hotel. The fragment of street to the side of the hotel retained the name Concert Buildings. The hall was sold to the Midland Railway Company in 1897 and demolished the following year to make way for the hotel, which opened in 1903.

¹⁶ Fiona Palmer. "A home for the 'Phil': Liverpool's first Philharmonic Hall (1849). Paul Rodmell, ed. *Music and institutions in the nineteenth-century*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p.80.

A guide issued for its stewards at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall noted that they were charged, among other duties, "To enforce silence during the performance" and "To exclude from the public Concerts parties not in evening dress".¹⁷ Annual subscriptions, available to men only, were five guineas (£5.25) – further evidence of the concerts becoming more socially exclusive – and were limited to 600.¹⁸ Five guineas would be worth approximately £260 in today's prices (2014).¹⁹ For comparison, the average annual wage of a cotton mill worker in Manchester in 1833 was £25.16s.6d (£25.82½).²⁰ Subscribers received two tickets, one of which was "transferable to ladies or strangers", the latter being defined as those gentlemen whose residence or business was a minimum of six miles from the city.²¹ Ownership of a subscription and thus attendance at the concerts came to be regarded as a status symbol among Manchester's emergent bourgeoisie. Contemporary lists of subscribers even list individuals with principal addresses in London. By relying on wealthy patrons the concerts could afford high profile artists like Moscheles, Malibran or, in 1848, Chopin.²² Charles Hallé, who was in the audience for Chopin's recital, noted in his diary the poor behaviour displayed by his fellow attendees and how this was typical of the concerts in general.²³ His autobiography offers the laconically dismissive comment: "During the month of August Chopin, came, played, but was

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Not 300, which figure is given by Allis.

¹⁹ Palmer quotes four guineas (£4.20) as the annual subscription (for six concerts) at the Liverpool Philharmonic Society in 1849, adding "The incentive to subscribe for networking purposes was clear; subscriptions promised massive exposure to an elevated and continuous social whirl...". Palmer, Op. cit., p.89.

²⁰ George H. Wood. *The history of wages in the cotton trade during the past hundred years*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910, p.28. Cited in Michael Huberman. *Escape from the market: negotiating work in Lancashire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.86.

²¹ Reduced from 12 miles in 1841. Allis. Op. cit., p.49.

²² On 28 August.

²³ Allis. Op. cit., p.38. Since this was Hallé's first concert, his observation can only have been made retrospectively.

little understood".²⁴ Chopin did not give a conventional recital in the modern sense, but appeared as a soloist in a concert otherwise given over to the usual diet of Italian opera. Periodic reference to, or admonition against, less than attentive behaviour on the part of audiences suggests a prevailing attitude whereby the social status inherent in having a subscription to the Gentlemen's Concerts took precedence over attendance for purely artistic reasons.

The Gentlemen's Concerts might have been justified in regarding themselves as the most prestigious in Manchester, but they were not, however, the city's sole vehicle for the performance of chamber music. Others included the Royal Manchester Institute, founded in 1823, and the Athenaeum, opened in 1836. Unlike the Gentlemen's Concerts, they saw themselves as having an educational role in which music and her sister arts were held to be capable of moral agency. As Gick has noted, "we should recognise that both the RMI and the Athenaeum sought to promote an active interest in the arts in order to avoid the confrontation of political and religious issues which represented the divisive elements within society".²⁵

Concerts at the Athenaeum still favoured the miscellaneous format exemplified by the Gentlemen's Concerts, as was remarked upon at its Annual Meeting in December 1844:

The concerts... are to be continued on the same scale which has assured to them their present popularity...The directors would consult the tastes of the members, by confining themselves to mixed vocal and instrumental concerts,

²⁴ *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé: being an autobiography (1819-1860) with correspondence and diaries*. Edited by his son, C.E. Hallé and his daughter, Marie Hallé. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1896, p.111. Surprisingly, given the observations on John Ella's concert mentioned by Bashford, op.cit., Hallé goes on to credit himself as an innovator in giving piano recitals "from the year 1850" as these were "until then unknown in England."

²⁵ Gick. Op. cit., p.66.

rather than to glee and choral ones, of which there are already enough in this town.²⁶

The Athenaeum concerts were not so consciously exclusive as the Gentlemen's Concerts. The *Manchester Guardian* commented that

...we have only to express the gratification which... all who have attended these concerts, have derived from these performances. The directors have opened up what has hitherto been, to all but a few amateurs, a sealed book of musical beauties...²⁷

Despite the header "The Manchester Quartet Concerts", the anonymous reviewer made no mention of the chamber music performed other than giving the names of the performers, which include Charles Seymour, leader of the Gentlemen's Concerts' orchestra.²⁸

Music was also performed in concerts given under the auspices of the Mechanics Institute. This had been founded in Manchester in 1824, only three years after the founding of the UK's first such institution, in Edinburgh. The period was to witness a burgeoning of such establishments in the rapidly industrialising cities of the kingdom, among them Liverpool, London and Glasgow in 1823, Leeds in 1824 and Sheffield in 1833. Institutes were also founded in the outlying districts of Manchester. Press reports from the 1840s refer to similar establishments in Miles Platting and Chorlton on Medlock as well as further afield in, *inter alia*, Salford, Bacup and Rawtenstall.

Usually founded through private philanthropy, their common remit was to fulfil a need

²⁶ "The Manchester Athenaeum". *Manchester Guardian*: 24 December 1844, p.6. The "glee and choral" concerts are perhaps a reference to those given by the Mechanics' Institute.

²⁷ "The Manchester Quartet Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 12 April 1843, p.6. The players were Mr. C. A Seymour, Mr. W. Lindley, Mr. Conran and Mr. E. Sudlow.

²⁸ The review also mentions "the excellent playing of Mr. Hill on the contra basso."

for education and training by those artisan or working-class sectors of society for whom no state education was at that stage available. In the case of Manchester, the musical activities of the Institute are potentially of more significance than those of the Athenaeum, since their educational outreach to a more working class clientele foreshadows that of the later Ancoats Brotherhood, Brodsky's involvement with which is discussed in Chapter 6.

Those responsible for the establishment of the Manchester Institute included the banker Benjamin Heywood (its first President), the physicist John Dalton and the engineer William Fairburn. Tension between the aims of the founders and their intended clientele quickly became apparent for, as Michael Herbert has noted, "control of the Institute was firmly in the hands of Manchester's self-made manufacturing class who firmly rebuffed any suggestions for change from the working people attending the lectures".²⁹

It is also interesting to note that very similar criticism was levelled at the Ancoats Brotherhood concerts in the early years of the twentieth century. Continuing tension led to the founding of the breakaway New Mechanics Institute in 1829 which disbanded in 1839, largely through lack of wealthy patrons.³⁰

²⁹ Cited by Sarah Irving in "The Manchester Mechanics Institute". *Manchester's radical history* <http://radicalmanchester.wordpress.com/2011/11/11/the-manchester-mechanics-institute/> (Acc. 24 January 2013).

³⁰ For a parallel example of class tension leading to a breakaway movement, see Alan White. "Class, culture and control: the Sheffield Athenaeum movement and the middle class". *The culture of capital: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class*. Janet Wolff and John Seed, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, pp.83-116.

Although the original Mechanics Institute maintained a bias towards crafts and sciences, it was envisaged from an early stage that music would form part of its curriculum. Notice of the Annual General Meeting from 1838 reveals that by then the Institute was able to report that the previous year it had been in receipt of more income from its concerts than from its lectures - £136.17s.6d (£136.77½p) as opposed to £128.³¹ Choral and vocal music were particularly popular.³² Mendelssohn's *St Paul* was performed in December 1848, on which occasion one anonymous reviewer not only commended the Directors of the Institute for their "laudable efforts to ameliorate the mental condition of a community over which they have considerable control" but noted that "the many incipient bursts of applause... warrant us in saying that high class compositions are not altogether unappreciated by the 'multitude' ".³³ Twelve months previously these same Directors had shown that a radical approach to programming need be no obstacle to musical education of the "multitude" when they had mounted a performance of the same composer's *Elijah*, less than a year and a half after its Birmingham première.³⁴ Commenting on their "progressive spirit", the review continued by examining the aesthetic and moral justification for their decision:³⁵

The experiment... of giving before a mixed auditory [sic] a work of such elevated character, has proved satisfactory in the highest degree; and it goes far to show that however they may... enjoy the humorous, yet when the nobler feelings are appealed to – the highest aspirations of the soul excited

³² C.f. "Concerts at the Mechanic's Institute and Athenaeum". *Manchester Times*: 1 December 1838, p.3.

³³ "The Mechanics' Institution concerts: Mendelssohn's 'St. Paul'." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 13 December 1848, p.5.

³⁴ 26 August 1846. After subsequent revision it was given in London on 16 April 1847.

³⁵ "The Mechanics' Institution concerts: Dr. Mendelssohn's "Elijah"." *Manchester Times*: 11 December 1849, p.5.

by the powerful agency of the grand and the beautiful in music – the mind, whether educated or not, recognises the theme, and rises to its powerful influence.³⁶

Although undoubtedly patronising by modern standards, the above hints at an underlying agenda intended to move beyond merely informing individuals about music to seeing within music an inherent moral agency. This might well account for the privileging within the Mechanics' Institutes of a text-based repertoire over a purely instrumental one, or for any "experiment" in presenting new works to play safe in opting for those which came with the implied imprimatur of a text drawn from the Scriptures. This lack of instrumental works reinforces the differences between the educative role of the Mechanics' Institutes and those of either the Athenaeum or the Royal Institution. These differences are as much about class as culture. Speaking at the Athenaeum in 1850 on the need to attract new members, the MP Richard Cobden drew attention to its need to distance itself from the Mechanics Institute:

This institution was founded originally for the purpose of affording a resource to young men engaged in business... which may be called the middle class. Now if this institution do [sic] not meet the expectations of its originators, we have not the same excuse to offer as the mechanics' institutions have... that the operative classes of this country are not sufficiently educated to appreciate such institutions... This institution... has been patronised by persons of the middle class, and if it has not succeeded altogether in the number of its members, we have not to fall back upon any such excuse as we have in the case of mechanics' institutions, and we cannot console ourselves

³⁶ Ibid.

with the idea that when people are better educated, there will be a greater succession of numbers to this institution".³⁷

If any musician in Victorian Manchester understood that a concert could have an underlying educational role it was Charles Hallé. His writings make no comment on the state of chamber music as he found it on arriving in Manchester in 1848.

Perhaps in this case actions were to speak louder than words for

...In the winter of 1848-49 I ventured upon a series of six chamber-music concerts, assisted by two modest local artists; but in spite of the efforts of my friends, who canvassed most energetically for subscribers, their total number reached only sixty-seven; the sale of single tickets for the first concert amounted to three, and to a few more for each of the succeeding concerts.

These were small beginnings, but did not dishearten me.³⁸

Hallé recorded in his autobiography that "In Manchester I was kindly received, especially by the German colony, which was prosperous and important".³⁹ His handwritten list of subscribers for his own chamber concerts has survived and, not surprisingly, the earliest entries contain a large number of German names as well as those of Manchester's great and good.⁴⁰ Among the former are those of Hermann Leo, the prime agent of Hallé's coming to Manchester, the calico printer and Free Trade supporter Salis Schwabe, with whom Chopin had stayed during his visit to Manchester and the industrialist Louis Behrens. Also listed is of name of Ernst

³⁷ "Athenaeum soirée. Speech of Mr. Cobden". *Manchester Times*: 28 December 1850, p.5.

³⁸ *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé*..., p.112. The concerts took place at various venues, starting with the Royal Institution.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.109.

⁴⁰ "Hallé's concerts of classical chamber music". MCL Rm 927.8 Hc 3206.

Delius, uncle of the composer Frederick Delius. The names of several subscribers are also to be found in the parallel lists of the subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts, which Hallé was to keep from 1852. This "Concert Hall Attendance Book" also shows that at that stage there were already a number of German musicians playing in the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concerts.⁴¹ The names of Hermann Leo; Adolph Schwabe; Hermann Schwabe; Salis Schwabe; Theodore Merck; Arnold Wolff; Hans Hasche and Bernard Liebert, for example, are found in both lists. The inclusion of Mrs. (Hannah) Greg, widow of the founder of Quarry Bank Mill at Styal, suggests that Hallé was not intent on mimicking the Gentlemen's Concerts' restriction of subscriptions to men only. Ticket prices, however, were still aimed at the well-off, with single tickets alone costing 7/6 (37½p) and subscriptions to the series of six concerts £1.11s.6d (£1.57½p). Another departure from the Gentlemen's Concert ticketing policy was the provision of a family subscription, allowing up to four persons to attend the series for 5 guineas (£5.50) – the cost of a single subscription to the Gentlemen's Concerts.⁴² Hallé was also offering better value too than had either the Athenaeum of the Royal Manchester Institute, where annual subscriptions had been 2 and 3 guineas (£2.20 and £3.30) respectively.⁴³ Nevertheless, the prices were still sufficiently high as to attract an audience that was economically self-selecting. Like John Ella, in his contemporary chamber concerts for the Musical Union in London, Hallé accepted this without challenge as reflecting the status quo, although unlike Ella he appears not to have encouraged exclusivity in the timing of his concerts. Christina Bashford has highlighted Ella's preference for daytime concerts as

⁴¹ MCL E000 295738.

⁴² These are prices ascertainable for the 1849-50 season. Cf. the advertisement for Mr. Hallé's Chamber Concerts in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 3 November 1849, p.1.

⁴³ Gick. *Op.cit*, p.66.

evidence of a conscious desire to attract only the leisured classes; Hallé's concerts were given in the evening.⁴⁴

The Press appears to have taken no interest in Hallé's first concert, as the earliest references relate to later ones in the season. Hallé himself related that "every item in the programme was new to the small audience and received with much appreciation. I felt that there was a whole musical education to make...".⁴⁵ Just how new can be gauged from press advertisements and reviews for the 1849-50 season, for which Hallé noted that "the subscribers numbered 193, and by general desire I had to add a short series of four concerts in February and March 1850".⁴⁶ The concert on 20 February 1849 began with the C minor Piano trio from Beethoven's op.1 set. It was followed by *Dove sono* from Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* and continued with Beethoven's *Appassionata* sonata. The second half opened with the Piano quartet version of Beethoven's op.16 Quintet for piano and wind, continued with another vocal item and ended with a selection of piano solos played by Hallé himself.⁴⁷ Although the format of the miscellaneous concert is still vestigially present, the proportion of instrumental to vocal items is here the reverse of what by now had become the norm at the Gentlemen's Concerts. Moreover, instrumental works, often represented in the Gentlemen's Concerts by gratuitously virtuosic showpieces, are

⁴⁴ Bashford. Op. cit.

⁴⁵ *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé...*, p.113.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.113.

⁴⁷ "Mr. Charles Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Examiner and Times*: 24 February 1849, p.6. The singer was one Miss Matthews, who ran a concert series of her own. One reviewed in the *Manchester Examiner & Times* on 10 January 1849, despite bearing the heading "Miss Matthews' Classical Chamber Concerts", reveals itself to have been given over entirely to vocal items.

replaced exclusively by ones which involve the piano participating on equal terms with other instruments ; more importantly, which involve Hallé himself as pianist.⁴⁸

The anonymous reviewer in the *Manchester Examiner & Times* was not slow to grasp this point, couching his commentary within a rhetoric suggestive of cultural and intellectual exclusivity calculated to flatter concert promoter and concertgoer alike.

A glance at the above programme must convince the most fastidious music lover that Mr. Hallé...is thoroughly resolved that these pleasant *réunions* shall merit the appellation "classical" which he has thought fit to bestow upon them. In this... we have a careful selection of works, not merely calculated to afford an opportunity of display on the part of Mr. Hallé himself, but to exhibit the lofty conceptions, the grandest imaginings, and the sublimest music-thoughts of our great composers: to satisfy to the utmost extent the thirst of the connoisseur in matters musical, and to create a taste, where it does not already exist, for the more intellectual and suggestive class of musical productions. This, we believe, is Mr. Hallé's aim.⁴⁹

"Mr. Hallé's aim" becomes more explicit when the programme is compared with others in the season. At the concert of 27 February 1849, each half of the programme opened with a Piano trio; the first with Mozart's in E major (K.542) and the second with Beethoven's op.71 no.2. Each was followed by a vocal item. Hallé ended the first half with a piano sonata by Weber (op.39 in A flat) and the second with two piano solos: a *Tarantella* by Heller and Chopin's A flat *Ballade*. The

⁴⁸ C.f Gick's comment that such virtuoso pieces "nevertheless remained in the repertoire of Manchester's chamber concerts until those organised by Hallé' which commenced in 1849." Gick. Op. cit., p.80.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.6. The review names Mr. [Charles] Seymour as the violinist and Mr. [William] Thorley as the 'cellist, but neglects to name the viola player in the Beethoven quartet.

reviewer once more took the hint, informing the reader both of Hallé's skill and of the enthusiasm with which it was received.

No words could express the combined effect of his facile execution and his judicious interpretation of the composer's meaning, in the delightful sonata by Weber... Chopin's ballad [sic] and the Tarantella by Heller... called forth in full perfection Mr. Hallé's extraordinary manipulatory powers, and were received with enthusiastic applause ⁵⁰

The review for the concert of 26 January 1850 observed, significantly, that

...The fifth of Mr. Hallé's delightful musical evenings... was numerously attended, principally by those of the German community, resident in Manchester, who are noted as being patrons of that peculiar class of composition which Mr. Hallé aims at producing.⁵¹

This was first of many intimations by the press of the particular appeal of chamber concerts to Manchester's German community; an appeal which, in Brodsky's time, was to prove both a strength and a weakness. The concert also included songs by Schubert, a composer as yet unrepresented in the repertoire of the Gentlemen's Concerts, but one for whom Hallé was progressively to prove a champion. Christina Bashford also notes the comparative absence of chamber music by Schubert in John Ella's Musical Union concerts.⁵²

⁵⁰ "Mr. Charles Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Examiner & Times*: 6 March 1849, p.6.

⁵¹ "Mr. Charles Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Examiner & Times*: 26 January 1850, p.6.

⁵² Bashford. *Op. cit.*, p.187.

Lest any remained unaware of Hallé's underlying agenda, the concluding concert in the series spelled it out equally forcefully. The pattern replicated that of the previous ones almost exactly. This time it was Mozart's G major Piano Trio which began the concert and Beethoven's *Archduke* the second half. Two vocal items preceded, respectively, Beethoven's *Tempest* Sonata to close the first half, and two of Hallé's own piano compositions to end the concert.⁵³ Hallé was obviously keen to impose a consistent structure on his concerts and, in the focus on piano trios, to introduce a thematic strand. This marked a radical shift in emphasis away from the somewhat random structure of the contemporary Gentlemen's Concerts, although it anticipates the type of programming with which Brodsky experimented in his New York chamber concerts, discussed in Chapter 3. More significantly, in concentrating on chamber music repertoire which included the piano, Hallé was not only setting further distance between his Chamber Concerts and the chamber works which occasionally featured in the Gentlemen's Concerts, he was also providing himself with a showcase for his own talents as a pianist and, indeed, as a composer. The point, again, was not lost on the reviewer, who nevertheless remained a model of discretion in his comment that

...The selection of such music, through a selection of six concerts, is itself a strong proof that in Mr. Hallé the love of his art is great enough to exclude that vanity and selfish assumption which prompt some performers to the choice of works not too good to make the hearer oblivious of the great merits of the nimble and noisy manipulators themselves.⁵⁴

⁵³ The Mozart trio must have been either K.496 or K.564. The list of movements which is given in the reviews of the other two concerts cited is unhelpfully omitted here.

⁵⁴ "Mr. Charles Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Examiner & Times*: 24 March 1849, p.6.

On the evidence of his subscription lists and the above-mentioned observation by the critic of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Hallé was also consciously both identifying himself with, and appealing to, Manchester's resident German community. This coloured not merely his bias in favour of Austro-German repertoire, but in some instances his choice of guest artists. Hallé noted in his autobiography that during his second series "Ernst and Piatti made their first appearance in Manchester at these concerts, and from that time remained identified with them".⁵⁵ The review of the concert of 9 March 1850, in which Wilhelm Ernst took part, is actually headed "Herr Ernst and Herr Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts".⁵⁶ Ernst played Beethoven's *Kreutzer* Sonata and ended the concert with compositions of his own, but Hallé chose to repeat the Beethoven op.70 no.2 trio from the previous season as his opening work. The second half began with a Mendelssohn string quartet, op.44 no.2 in E minor, and included vocal items by Sterndale Bennett and Handel. The reviewer noted that the scherzo of Mendelssohn's "florid exquisite quartet" was encored, but otherwise makes little comment on it, preferring instead to dwell at length on the two Beethoven works. Both the trio and the sonata are described as "grand" works: "each movement" of the former is "replete with ideality [sic] and florid beauty" and their movements are then commented on individually in eulogising terms, as are those of the sonata.⁵⁷

If Hallé left no comment on chamber music as he found it in Manchester, he was resolutely unequivocal about the standard of orchestral playing he found in the Gentlemen's Concerts.

⁵⁵ *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé*..., p.112.

⁵⁶ "Herr Ernst and Herr Halle's Classical Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Examiner & Times*: 9 March 1850, p.5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

...but the orchestra! Oh, the orchestra! I was fresh from the ‘Concerts du Conservatoire’, from Hector Berlioz’s orchestra, and seriously thought of packing up and leaving Manchester, so that I might not have to endure a second of these wretched performances.⁵⁸

He was, however, equally aware of the challenge that this presented him, and of the underlying reason he had been invited to Manchester. His observation cited above continues “...my friends gave me to understand that I was expected to change all this – to accomplish a revolution...”.⁵⁹ His first appearance at the Gentlemen’s Concerts was as a pianist.⁶⁰ He played Beethoven’s *Emperor Concerto*, following it in the second half of the concert with solo pieces by Mendelssohn – a composer hitherto barely represented in the programmes as an instrumental composer. Within little over a year Hallé had assumed directorship of the Gentlemen’s Concerts himself. Gustav Behrens, descendant of Solomon Levi Behrens, Manchester engineer and first Secretary to the RMCM, recounted the circumstances in a paper entitled “Sir Charles Hallé – and after”:

[Hallé] was in the full tide of success when the revolution of 1848 shattered all his plans. Lamartine, on behalf of the Provisional Government, offered him the position of Ambassador of the French Republic to the German Diet at Frankfort, but Hallé refused it, and came to England. After a short stay in London, he settled in Manchester, guided by the fact that here was an

⁵⁸ *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé...*, p.112.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.111, in referring to the concert mentions “During the same month of August Chopin came...”. The programme survives in MCL E000295787, which covers programmes from May 1841-November 1852, and gives the correct date of 13 September.

influential and musical German colony. He conducted the Gentlemen's Concerts from the end of 1849.⁶¹

Hallé's determination to breathe new life into the Gentlemen's Concerts is well illustrated by his insistence, in December 1849, that every member of the current orchestra be dismissed and that he should be responsible for reforming the orchestra, with leeway to re-engage any former players he found suitable. He did not, however, immediately seek to introduce more chamber music into the programmes, no doubt because his own Chamber Music Concerts already offered a vehicle for its performance. Only with the founding of the Hallé Orchestra in 1858 was the Chamber Music Society disbanded and its activities gradually reabsorbed into the programmes of the Gentlemen's Concerts. Hallé was thus able to supplement his involvement with the concerts as conductor and occasional piano soloist with appearances as a chamber music pianist. From hereon works by Beethoven – whose chamber music was to form the mainstay of Brodsky's own Manchester concerts – was increasingly heard. On the occasion of Joseph Joachim's visit in April 1862, for example, Hallé partnered him in a performance of Beethoven's *Kreutzer* Sonata.⁶² In January 1863 he performed the same composer's *Archduke* Trio with Molique and Piatti,⁶³ while in November 1864 he and guest

⁶¹Gustav Behrens. *Sir Charles Hallé – and after*. Undated (but printed) paper, with no indication of the audience to which it was addressed. MCL E000 295690/RS 780.61 ME 728. Manchester's German community was largely centred on the south-western suburb of Greenheys, which borders on Moss Side. Hallé too settled there. He lived at 70 Greenheys Lane from 1858 until his death in 1895. The site is now occupied by flats (Duxbury Square), where a blue plaque was installed in 1973.

⁶² MCL E000 295787. He performed it again in March 1864.

⁶³ Ibid. The programme also included Hallé and Piatti in Mendelssohn's op.58 'Cello **S**onata.

violinist Ludwig Strauss played Beethoven's *Spring Sonata*.⁶⁴ The following month he introduced a real novelty - Beethoven's Quintet for piano and wind instruments.⁶⁵

The programmes for Hallé's early years at the Gentlemen's Concerts reveal a man who appears determined to introduce his audiences to new and unfamiliar repertoire, and not just in the field of chamber music. In the first five years of his tenure subscribers would have heard more Beethoven symphonies, for instance, than in the preceding half century, but often as isolated movements, as if Hallé was intent on feeding his audience in palatable spoonfuls rather than whole courses. Even the Beethoven Septet, when it reappeared after a long absence, was represented only by a selection of its movements.⁶⁶ At this time the overall programme concept began to change as well, moving away from the previous vocally-dominated concerts to ones in which instrumental music was to the fore.

On 20 March 1867 a string quartet was performed at the Gentlemen's Concerts for the first time since 1807. It was by Haydn and billed merely as "Quartet in D – Two Violins, Viola and Violoncello".⁶⁷ The players were Joachim, Reis, Zerbini and Piatti. It appears to have required the presence of an artist of Joachim's calibre to bring off the double coup of both a genre and a composer which would have been less than familiar to subscribers. There was more Haydn – a piano trio in G major⁶⁸ - and

⁶⁴ Ibid. The programme actually records the work as "Sonata in F".

⁶⁵ Ibid. It was heard again on 23 January 1867.

⁶⁶ 25 November 1863 and again on 27 September 1865.

⁶⁷ The movements are given as *Allegro-Adagio-Minuetto-Finale. Presto*, which conforms to no Haydn quartet in D major. Op.76 no.5 is a near contender, but there the slow movement is marked *Largo*. MCL E000 295787.

⁶⁸ Presumably the one including the so-called "Gypsy rondo", Hob.XV:25.

Mozart's Clarinet Quintet in November that year.⁶⁹ A pattern now begins to emerge, in which concerts closer to those from the pre-Hallé era, with their diet of vocal solos and ensembles, topped and tailed by an orchestral piece (usually an overture), coexist with others in which the vocal element is kept to a minimum and chamber and instrumental music plays the greater role.

Then, in March 1871 Hallé ventured to present to the Gentlemen's Concerts an evening given over entirely to chamber music. Among the artists who took part were his future second wife, the violinist Wilma Norman-Neruda, whom he partnered in Beethoven's *Kreutzer* Sonata and a suite by Rust. Hallé himself played a Schubert piano sonata, and the concert also included Beethoven's *Harp* Quartet and Schumann's *Phantasiestücke* for piano trio. The 'cellist was Ernest Vieuxtemps, who had been principal 'cello of the Hallé Orchestra since its inception in 1858.⁷⁰ The Manchester press appears to have let the occasion pass unnoticed, but a recital by Hallé and Norman-Neruda two days later (16 March) in Birmingham's Masonic Hall elicited the comment from the Birmingham Post's critic that

...the smallness of the space to be filled assures the satisfactory hearing of the most refined and delicate performance. We do not think the promoters lost much by this change of locale, for the Town Hall Chamber Concerts, in which the same artists took part, were by no means largely attended, whereas the Masonic Hall last night was full.⁷¹

Hallé gave another Classical Chamber Concert in November 1871 at which he revived the Beethoven Septet (given complete this time), offered Haydn's Quartet

⁶⁹ MCL E000 295787.

⁷⁰ MCL E000295787/R 780.69 Me 68.

⁷¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*: 17 March 1871, p.8.

op.20 no.2 and played Beethoven's Piano Sonata, op.28.⁷² This was only the second recorded performance of a Haydn quartet at the Gentlemen's Concerts. The concert in February 1872 contained another "first" for the concerts, when Alfredo Piatti and Emil Sauer performed Beethoven's 'Cello Sonata, op.69.⁷³ Thereafter Hallé included two Classical Chamber Concerts in each season, one in the spring and one in the autumn. Works by Beethoven continue to predominate, with Mendelssohn and Schumann gaining an increasing but nevertheless small foothold in the programmes as the decade progressed. They are represented chiefly by chamber music with piano, which, in a move anticipatory of Brodsky's later approach, allowed Hallé a personal role in promoting what was comparatively new music. Chamber works without piano are consequently less in evidence. There is still, for example, very little by Mozart and Haydn. Indeed, string quartets by the latter are from hereon conspicuous by their total absence prior to the period after 1895 when the Brodsky Quartet began to perform in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall.

By the late 1880s the chief vehicle for chamber music at the Gentlemen's Concerts had become the Drawing-Room Concerts given on Tuesday evenings. Programmes show that they included fewer visiting celebrity artists; instead Hallé was content to draw on the services of players from the Hallé Orchestra. This might well have been occasioned by financial necessity. Allis notes that audience numbers fell consistently from the mid 1870s and that Hallé's own orchestra presented direct competition. He quotes Charles Heywood, Chairman of the Gentlemen's Concerts' directors, remarking in July 1890 that "...You cannot compete with Sir Charles Hallé, and the

⁷² MCL E000295787.

⁷³ Ibid.

success of his concerts has been hostile, if not destructive, to the welfare of this enterprise".⁷⁴

The name of Carl Fuchs, later 'cellist of the Brodsky Quartet, first appears on a programme for a Drawing-Room Concert in October 1888. With Hallé he played the Mendelssohn D major 'Cello Sonata, after which they were joined by Wilma Norman-Neruda and Willy Hess in another "novelty", Brahms's Piano Quartet, op.25. Hess was Brodsky's predecessor as leader of the Hallé Orchestra and Professor of Violin at the RMCM. He is listed here as making his first appearance at the concerts, surprisingly playing viola. The concert also included Beethoven's *Harp* Quartet.⁷⁵

Notice of two Classical Chamber Concerts in 1885 also includes the names Speelman and [Ernst] Schiever. Whether the former refers to the Hallé's principal viola and later violist of the Brodsky Quartet Simon Speelman or his brother Samuel is not made clear. Both are also listed from November 1885 onwards as regular performers in the series of private chamber concerts given in Liverpool by Henry Rensburg, each playing both violin and viola.⁷⁶

The Rensburg concerts are worthy of comment in their own right, not least because they provided another means whereby Fuchs and Speelman could meet as regular chamber music players before the formation of the Brodsky Quartet. As a private society their activities were not primarily financially motivated, which in turn created a spirit of adventurousness in programming that would have been decidedly risky had

⁷⁴ Allis. Op. cit., p.111, quoting from the *Gentlemen's Society General Committee Minutes* of 30 July 1890.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ They made their debut at the Rensburg concerts on 29 November 1885. BL M.Mus 307/8 contains details of the Rensburg concerts from 1882 onwards.

profit making been a prime consideration. Rensburg was a prosperous Jewish stockbroker of Dutch origin who had settled in Liverpool in 1862 and who at various times held the posts of Honorary Secretary and Deputy Chairman of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society.⁷⁷ He was also a talented amateur viola player who therefore appeared regularly as a performer in his own concerts.⁷⁸ Rensburg drew his fellow string players mostly from those who were active in Liverpool and Manchester but was able as well to invite major visiting artists of the calibre of Joachim, Kreisler and Heifetz.⁷⁹ Vieuxtemps was one of Rensburg's regular 'cellists until his death in 1896, along with Henry Smith and later Walter Hatton, who was to replace Carl Fuchs as the 'cellist of the Brodsky Quartet in the years following the First World War. Fuchs's own debut at the Rensburg concerts was in October 1888, when he took part in a performance of Beethoven's Quartet, op.18 no.2 and Mendelssohn's 4 Pieces for String Quartet, op.81.⁸⁰

While works Beethoven and Mendelssohn were frequently performed at Rensburg's concerts, his status as a dilettante allowed him to explore beyond an inherited canonic repertoire in a way which a series like the Gentlemen's Concerts would have considered too great a financial risk. Works for strings alone and works for strings with piano appear in more or less equal proportions.⁸¹ String quartets by Schubert,

⁷⁷ C.f. Nicolas Bell. "Chamber music in the home: Henry Rensburg's concerts in Liverpool". *Brio*: 45.1 (Spring/Summer 2008), p.43-52.

⁷⁸ Rensburg's consistent appearance as a violist at his own concerts is the likely reason that both Speelmans frequently performed as violinists.

⁷⁹ At this time there was a substantial overlap in membership of the Hallé and Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestras.

⁸⁰ BL M.Mus 307/8.

⁸¹ Works involving wind instruments, however, are almost non-existent. Performances of Mozart's *Kegestatt* Trio replace the clarinet with a violin, as in that given by Joachim, Rensburg and the pianist Leonie Michels in March 1882. The only wind player to be recorded

Mendelssohn and Schumann were frequently played, but there are also quartets by composers including Raff, Volkmann and Brahms. Works for larger combinations of strings, such as the quintets of Mendelssohn or the sextets of Brahms, the Mendelssohn Octet or the Schubert String quintet, were also popular. The only Brahms chamber work to appear in the Gentlemen's Concerts during Hallé's tenure was the Piano Quartet, op.25, as mentioned above, yet in Rensburg's concert programmes this and its A major companion, op.26, appear with some regularity, as does the same composer's Piano Quintet. In November 1891 Rensburg pulled off something of a *coup* in giving the first English performance of the Piano Quartet by Richard Strauss. Strauss himself was to play this work with members of the Brodsky Quartet in Manchester in 1904.

Notable too are the large number of pieces by composers from beyond the core Austro-German canon. Dvořák's Piano Quintet, op.81, was played in December 1889, only a year after its publication, and the Piano Quartet, op.87 was given in April 1891, only six months after its Frankfurt première.⁸² Scandinavian composers are represented by Grieg – the String Quartet, op.27 and the Violin Sonata, op.45 - Gade and Svendsen.⁸³ The *Andante cantabile* from Tchaikovsky's String Quartet, op.11 was heard in December 1890 and one of the Borodin quartets (which is not specified) in November 1899. There is, admittedly, little French music, unless one counts the quintet by Onslow performed in January 1888, although a Saint-Saëns piano trio was heard in November 1885 and again in November 1892.

as having played at the Rensburg concerts was the clarinettist Manuel Gomez, who played Weber's *Grand duo concertante* and the Brahms Clarinet Quintet in March 1902.

⁸² The violinist in Liverpool was Pablo Sarasate.

⁸³ First performed by Grieg and Brodsky in Leipzig in December 1887 and performed at the Rensburg concerts by Ysaÿe with Leonie Michels in January 1891.

Saint-Saëns was, in fact, one of a number of composers with whom Rensburg was in correspondence, as a letter contained in the Rensburg material at the British Library reveals. Other letters survive from musicians, all of them apparently in response to invitations from Rensburg. This in itself would suggest that Rensburg was nothing if not bold in seeking to associate his concerts with musicians of considerable standing. A letter of 18 March 1888 from Joseph Joachim concerning the vacant conductorship of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society offers a reference for the eventual incumbent, Max Bruch. Having praised Hallé's achievements in Manchester, he continued

...I cannot but think that for ensuring a healthy development of music in Liverpool to have a resident great artist taking an interest in its growth is a condition *sine qua non*. And certainly there could not be a man of more importance, carrying weight by the estimation in which [he's] held, as well as by his thorough musical knowledge and efficiency by his colleagues as a conductor, than Max Bruch. I think that he would be willing to accept the post, as the 6 month leave of absence must carry great weight with a composer.⁸⁴

Rensburg was not, however, always successful in attracting the big names of the musical world, which prompts the speculation that some of his invitations might have been born more of sheer opportunism rather than any real hope of a positive outcome. Three months before his death, Liszt politely declined an offer to appear in Liverpool.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ BL M.Mus 307/8.

⁸⁵ "A mon regret je ne puis prolonger mon séjour en Angleterre et vous prie d'agréer de l'expression de mes sentiments très distingués". Autograph letter from Franz Liszt to Henry Rensburg. Ibid. Liszt writes from Westwood House, Sydenham, the home of Henry Littleton, director of Novello Company.

Grieg was concerned that the English newspapers had blown his forthcoming visit to England out of proportion.⁸⁶ Elgar, too, turned down an invitation.⁸⁷

Surviving documentation shows that the Rensburg concerts ran until 1924, although in later years the large gaps between entries for concerts suggest that by then concerts were given with less regularity. The entries themselves are no less detailed in terms of repertoire and performers than is the case with earlier concerts, which would support the argument.

In comparing Hallé and Rensburg as promoters of chamber music in their respective adopted cities, it would be unfair to see Hallé as more conservative in his repertoire or to view him as acting solely out of self-interest. He was able to create a presence for chamber music under the auspices of the Gentlemen's Concerts where hardly any had existed before and furthermore was able to do so within the context of an institution for which financial considerations were an essential consideration. Rensburg, in organising a private venture, was free from such a constriction and was able to present a much broader repertoire. He was moreover successful in providing several performers who were later to be associated with Brodsky with more opportunities to come together as chamber music players than it would appear existed in Manchester

⁸⁶ "So ausserordentlich liebenswürdig, wie es von Ihnen ist das Sie mir den Vorschlag machen weitere Engagements in Liverpool für mich vermitteln zu wolle! So sehr bedaure ist, solche aus Gesundheitsaussichten von der Hand nicht ausnehme zu können... Ihren ersten Vorschlag gewiss, gerne bereit was Sie in den englischen Zeitungen von meiner Auskunft gelesen haben, ist vollständig aus der Luft gerissen...." Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Henry Rensburg, 20 November 1888. Ibid.

⁸⁷ "I have only just now received your letter + hasten to thank you for your kind invitation. Am sorry I shall not be able to come to you this visit as I only arrive in Liverpool two hours before the concert tomorrow + leave early on Wednesday morning". Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Henry Rensburg, 17 December 1917. Ibid.

prior to Brodsky's arrival in 1895.⁸⁸ It was to be Brodsky who was to continue the tradition nurtured by Hallé and to make Manchester a prime centre for chamber music which complemented the city's by then long-standing reputation as a centre for orchestral music. Liverpool, in contrast, was unable to command an equivalent resident figure able to make a comparable impression as a chamber music performer. While Brodsky was undoubtedly able to bring to his Manchester concerts the experience in programming and repertoire he had garnered in the Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts between 1883 and 1891, in his own Manchester concerts he was able both to build on the foundations laid by Hallé and also to draw on experienced players who had by then played together in numerous Rensburg concerts in Liverpool.

⁸⁸ Brodsky himself appeared in the Rensburg concerts only twice, on 27 April 1902 and 1 March 1903. On both occasions he performed alongside Simon and Samuel Speelman and Walter Hatton.

Chapter 2

Brodsky in Europe – Building a repertoire, building the circle

The development of chamber music in Manchester in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the role played by Charles Hallé in its progress, provide an important context in which to place Adolph Brodsky's own later contribution to the city's chamber music culture. Another is the trajectory of Brodsky's own career prior to his coming to Manchester in 1895. Yet Brodsky's earliest professional career points in a different direction from that of a chamber musician. It is a career played out largely in mainland Europe and in which chamber music performances occupied a subordinate role to appearances as a concert soloist and orchestral leader. Indeed, the high point of Brodsky's career up until the age of thirty was to be one of the most celebrated concerto premières of the later nineteenth century. This, the first performance of the Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto, is discussed *passim* later in this chapter, as is the longer term significance of Brodsky's friendship with Tchaikovsky as evinced by the former's concern to promote Tchaikovsky's own chamber music in Manchester.

Although experiences as both an orchestral player and as a teacher are not wholly absent from Brodsky's activities prior to the Tchaikovsky première, they too occupy a subsidiary role. Nevertheless it was to fulfil the twin roles of orchestral musician and pedagogue that Brodsky initially came to Manchester. He could not at that stage have foreseen the death shortly afterwards of Charles Hallé, the man who had invited him to the city. Yet, ironically, Hallé's death unwittingly contributed to the circumstances under which Brodsky was thus the more able to make his own mark on the chamber music tradition which his predecessor had built up. A crucially formative

event in this respect was the eight years which Brodsky was to spend as Professor of Violin at the Leipzig Conservatoire, beginning in 1883. There he established the first Brodsky Quartet, an ensemble which, with successive changes of personnel under Brodsky's leadership, was to survive his move to Manchester, where its central role in the city's chamber concerts would complement that enjoyed by the Hallé Orchestra in its orchestral concerts. Equally important are the musical contacts and friendships Brodsky was able to make in Leipzig and their significance in his development of a performed chamber music repertoire. Not only did he later seek to introduce their music to Manchester audiences, but where possible he encouraged their visits to the city.

Hellmesberger's concerts in Vienna

Prior to the Tchaikovsky première in 1881, Brodsky began to develop his career in Vienna, where he had studied with Josef Hellmesberger at the Conservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. A student report, dated 31 July 1867 and signed by Hellmesberger, and in which Brodsky's progress is noted as "Vorzüglich" (excellent), survives at the RNCM.¹ In a biographical article published in the *Musical Times* in April 1903, Brodsky credited Hellmesberger with arranging for him to perform as a young student in Viennese concerts and eventually inviting him to play second violin in his own quartet.² The article's reference to him as a "Wunderkind" might presuppose

¹ RNCM AB/98.

² "This great teacher took a deep interest in his gifted pupil, and allowed the *Wunderkind* to play at many concerts in Vienna, and finally admitted him into his own celebrated quartet, the personnel being Hellmesberger, Brodsky, Bachrich and Popper". "Adolph Brodsky". *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular*. Vol. 44, No. 722 (Apr. 1, 1903), pp. 225-227. The article is written in the third person, although autograph material held in the Edwards Papers at the British Library suggests that it was based on material supplied by Brodsky himself. On 22 March 1903 Brodsky wrote to Frederick Edwards, editor of *The Musical Times* "I arrive in London on Wednesday between 8-9pm... I will stay at the Great Central Hotel. Could you lunch

that the teenage Brodsky appeared as a talented soloist rather than a rank and file orchestral player; in fact his contributions to Hellmesberger's concerts were primarily confined to work as a jobbing chamber music player alongside fellow Hellmesberger pupils.

The 14-year old violinist made his debut in his teacher's concerts as a ripieno player in a chamber performance of Bach's fifth Brandenburg Concerto given on 26 November 1865.³ A further appearance in the same composer's D minor keyboard concerto occurred on 2 December 1866, but thereafter Brodsky's performances are of genuine chamber music only. Initially these are as an extra player engaged for works requiring a larger string ensemble, which accounts for Brodsky's first performances in this respect being as a second viola in Spohr's E minor Double Quartet, op.87, and Brahms G major Sextet, op.36, as well as Beethoven's String Quintet, op.4, all in 1867.⁴ The following year he played second viola in Mendelssohn's B flat String Quintet.⁵ These are rare documented instances of Brodsky appearing in concert as a viola player.

Brodsky's appearances received only scant mention in the contemporary Viennese press. For the *Neue Freie Presse*, his performance in the Spohr Double Quartet was deemed of lesser importance than that of

with me at the Hotel at 1.30 on Thursday then we could talk over everything also about your biographical sketch. I will bring the proof with me. I hope your [sic] as not in a great hurry to print it?". BL Egerton MSS 3096.

³ The work is referred to simply as "Concert D-dur", but the presence of piano and flute soloists argues in favour of the fifth Brandenburg. Information on Brodsky's appearances at Hellmesberger's concerts is taken from *Quartett Hellmesberger. Sämmtliche Programme von 1.Quartett am 4.November 1849 bis zum 300.Quartett am 19.Dezember 1889*. S.l.; s.n., c.1900.

⁴ On 20 January, 3 February and 29 December 1867 respectively.

⁵ 2 February 1868.

Hellmesberger's son, here making his debut in his father's concerts as leader of the second quartet. Brodsky himself received only a passing mention as one of the four pupils (Zöglinge) who formed the quartet.⁶

For the teenage Brodsky, the significance of the experience of playing in Hellmesberger's concerts was twofold. Firstly, they brought him into contact with leading musicians, both composers and performers, and not least Brahms, who appeared as pianist in his own Horn Trio in a concert in which Brodsky took part on 29 December 1867. Other performers included the flautist Franz Doppler, the 'cellist David Popper – both members of the Court Opera in Vienna – and Carl Reinecke, who was to be his future colleague at the Leipzig Conservatoire. The second formative significance of Hellmesberger's concerts for the young Brodsky was that they enabled him to engage with repertoire which was later to become integral to his own concerts as a quartet leader. In the case of the Brahms sextet, for example, this engagement existed almost from the music's inception, since the Vienna performance, listed as "Neu", took place only a few months after the work's European première.⁷ The Beethoven quintet performance referred to above was given as part of a concert in which the equally "Neu" Brahms Horn Trio was heard.⁸ By the time Brodsky graduated to being Hellmesberger's regular second violin, he was playing a mixture of canonic and newer but largely conservative Austro-German repertoire which was to become his bread and

⁶ "Acht Tage früher machte in der sechsten Quartett-Soirée der junge Joseph Hellmesberger sein erstes officielles Debut. Der talentvolle Knabe hat sich bereits in einigen Conservatoriums-Concerten hören lassen... Für sein Auftreten war Spohr's Doppelquartett in E-moll gewählt worden... Diesmal sass an Vieuxtemps' Pult Hellmesberger's Söhnlein, als Führer des zweiten, durch die tüchtigen Zöglinge Risehari, Brodsky und Udl [sic] ergänzten Quartetts. Das Publicum freute sich herzlich über das geläufige Spiel wie über as natürliche, bescheiden-sichere Auftreten des jungen Hellmesberger". *Neue Freie Press*: 5 February 1867, p.2.

⁷ Zürich, 20 November 1866.

⁸ The trio was premièreed in Zürich, 28 November 1866.

butter in both Leipzig and Manchester. Moreover he was being introduced to a programming format to which he was to remain loyal throughout his career. Two concerts from November 1868 offer ideal examples. The first, on 15 November, began with a Haydn quartet, followed it by a work introducing the piano (Beethoven's Trio op.70 no.1) and ended with the largest work in scale, the Beethoven String Quintet, op.29 – a piece for which, as later concert programmes demonstrate, Brodsky was to remain a consistent champion.⁹ The second concert, on 29 November, adopts a pattern of placing two newer works, by Reinecke, between two canonic ones, in this case quartets by Mozart and Beethoven. These were concerts in which Brodsky took part; during those seasons in which he appeared with Hellmesberger, the latter programmed several new works which were to find their way into the concert's given by his pupil as a mature artist, such as the string quartets of Robert Volkmann.

The Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto

After Vienna, Brodsky initially returned to Russia in 1870. Here he began to establish himself as a soloist through a series of concert tours, eventually settling in Moscow, where he taught at the Conservatoire between 1874 and 1878.¹⁰ It was here that he first met Tchaikovsky. Lucinde Braun and Grigorij Mosieev have drawn attention to the fact that in what might constitute

⁹ The review (by E. Schelle) in *Die Presse* refers to the Haydn as having been a substitution for a Schubert quartet. *Die Presse*. 31 December 1867, p.18. The same review hints at another change of programme in its closing remark "Das Quartett von Beethoven Opus 127 beschloss die Production". The fact that this work was scheduled for performance in the subsequent concert on 5 January 1868, and is mentioned as having been played on that occasion in the review in the *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, suggests that the earlier reference was merely an oversight. "Den gewichtigen Schluss des Quartettabende endlich bildete Beethoven's Quartett in Es-dur op.127". *Neues Fremden-Blatt*. 8 January 1868, p.6.

¹⁰ RNCM AB/171 is copy of a certificate originally awarded to Brodsky by the Moscow Conservatoire on 10 December 1878. The copy is dated 14 December 1893 (both dates OS).

Tchaikovsky's first letter to Brodsky he mentions the latter as a quartet player. In it the composer asks Brodsky to take part in a play-through of his String Quartet, op.22 by way of proof-checking for mistakes prior to its publication by Jurgenson. Although the letter is undated, the appearance of the quartet in print in October 1875 would validate a dating of around that time and thereby provide the first known evidence of Brodsky's involvement with a chamber work by Tchaikovsky.¹¹

The following two years saw Brodsky active as a conductor of the Kiev Symphony Society. A biographical article from this period, published in the newspaper *The Kiev'ian* [*Kievskyanin*] in 1880, although largely anecdotal, also hints at Brodsky remaining active as a soloist during this time.¹² The writer, identified only as "L. K." (Lev Kupernik?), expresses the hope that the Kiev public will prize Mr. Brodsky as a virtuoso.¹³

The period 1880-1883 brought further concert tours. During one of these occurred the première of the Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto for which Brodsky is best remembered. The events leading to that occasion – and the polemical review it elicited from Eduard Hanslick – are well known and need be only briefly rehearsed here. Hanslick's opinion, culminating in the oft-quoted remark "Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto brings us face to face for the first time with the revolting thought - may there not also exist musical compositions that

¹¹ Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky. Leipzig: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, A/4990/2005. This is discussed in Braun, Lucinde and Moiseev, Grigorij. "Zur Drucklegung des 2. Streichquartetts – Ein bisher unbekannter Brief Čaikovskijs an den Geiger Adol'f Brodskij". *Tchaikovsky-Gesellschaft: Mitteilungen*: 18 (2011), pp.33-41.

¹² RNCM AB/166-168.

we can hear stink?” has tended to marginalise any more positive criticism.¹⁴

Anna Brodsky’s own account, while acknowledging that there was a disruptive element in the audience, counters Hanslick’s polemic with reports that the concerto was largely well received.

After the finale enthusiastic applause filled the hall. This must have been too much for the conservative portion of the audience. They wished to check it by signs of protest, and for some seconds unmistakable hisses mingled with the applause, but this seemed only to emphasise the success, for people stood on their feet to shout “Bravo!” and the opposition was soon overcome. Again and again Brodsky had to appear, and bow his acknowledgements to the excited audience.¹⁵

Equally positive – and more objective – are notices in the Viennese Press. One, unnamed, critic drew the reader’s attention to Brodsky’s performance demonstrating “colossal technique and phenomenal purity” and its being “so favourably written for the soloist as to show off to the audience the greater part of his agility”. He commented that most of the audience were of the same opinion, adding that any opposition was aimed at the piece rather than the soloist.¹⁶

¹⁴ “Tschaikowskys Violine Concert bringt uns zum erstenmal auf die schauerliche Idee ob es nicht auch Musikstücke geben könne die man stinken hört”. *Neue Freie Presse*: 5 December 1881. Quoted in Nicolas Slonimsky. *Lexicon of musical invective: critical assaults on composers since Beethoven’s time*. 2nd ed. New York: Coleman-Ross Company, 1965, p.207.

¹⁵ Anna Brodsky. *Recollections of a Russian home: a musician’s experience*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1904. Rep. 1914, p.126. Anna Skadowsky had married Brodsky in 1880.

¹⁶ “... mit colossaler Technik und phänomenaler Reinheit vortrug... So günstig das Concert für den Solospieler geschrieben ist, welcher das Maximum seiner technischen Gewandtheit dem Publikum zeigen will... So schein auch ein grosser Theil des Auditoriums gleicher Ansicht zu sein, den die ganz energischen Zeichen des Missfallens, welcher wir unter dem stürmischen, den Spieler ehrenden Applause

Of more lasting significance for Brodsky's subsequent career in Manchester is that the concerto's première was conducted by Hans Richter, another European émigré who was to make the move to Manchester, in this instance as Hallé's eventual successor as conductor of the orchestra Hallé had founded there. Richter was to make his own mark on the city's orchestral tradition as Brodsky was to make his on its emergent chamber music tradition. It was also through Richter that Brodsky was introduced to Elgar, a latecomer to the Brodsky circle but one with whose music he was to become increasingly involved in later years. Brodsky's engagement with Elgar's late String Quartet is discussed in detail in Chapter 8 below.

Tchaikovsky's first reference to Brodsky's performance of the concerto appeared in a letter to the writer and critic Lev Kupernik, informing him that he had received news of the première via his publisher Jurgenson and asking him to thank Brodsky on his behalf.¹⁷ According to Anna Brodsky, "their real and close friendship dated from this letter and lasted until Tchaikovsky's death".¹⁸ Yet, after Brodsky's move to Manchester, it was largely the composer's chamber music which he chose to promote Tchaikovsky's reputation in the city. Indeed, Brodsky appears not to have been particularly proprietorial towards the concerto, even at this early stage. In the spring of 1882 he travelled to London to give the British première, playing the concerto

hörten, galten doch sicherlich der Compositionen". The review at RNCM AB/007 is undated but refers to the concert taking place on 4 December.

¹⁷ Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Lev Kupernik, 1/13 December 1881. RNCM AB/662.

¹⁸ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., p.128.

at one of Richter's St. James's Hall concerts on 8 May.¹⁹ Strictly speaking this was the first British performance with orchestra; a programme exists at the RNCM which shows he played it with piano accompaniment at a concert given at London's Deutscher Verein für Kunst und Wissenschaft on 27 April.²⁰ A letter from Brodsky to Tchaikovsky, written from London and dated 8/20 April, also refers to a private performance having recently taken place at the house of the impresario Hermann Franke, Director of the St. James's Hall concerts.²¹ This would therefore count as the absolute London première. The London performances also predate the Russian première, which was given under the auspices of the Moscow Division of the Russian Imperial Music Society on 8 August 1882 (OS) as part of an all-Tchaikovsky concert.²² References to Brodsky's appearances as a concerto soloist after his move to Leipzig in 1883 as often as not are to performances of works other than the Tchaikovsky concerto.²³ Writing to Brodsky in 1889 about a proposed performance at the Moscow branch of the Russian Musical Society, of which he was now Director, Tchaikovsky expressed a hope that Brodsky would play

¹⁹ Programme at BL X.339/1271.

²⁰ Programme at RNCM AB/158.

²¹ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Tchaikovsky, 8/20 April 1882. Original at the Tchaikovsky House Museum at Klin; reproduced in Brodsky, Anna. *Voslominaniya o rusском domye: Adolf Brodskii, Pyetr Chaikovskii, Edvard Grig v myemurakh, dnyevnikakh, pismakh*. Moskva: Isdatelstvo Dom "Koktyebel", 2006, pp.109-111. According to Brodsky, Franke had been unable to programme an appearance by the former at the St. James's concerts but was sufficiently impressed by his playing of the concerto in the private concert that he reorganised the concert schedule at short notice to facilitate his public debut.

²² Programme at RNCM AB/163. The concert also featured, inter alia, the *Capriccio italien* and the *1812 Overture* as well as songs.

²³ In Chemnitz in February 1884 he played the Brahms concerto and one by Bach – most likely the A minor (BWV.1043), which was a lifelong favourite. He played the Mendelssohn concerto under Hans von Bülow in his Hamburg Subscription Concerts in 1888 and the Beethoven, again under von Bülow, in the following season. On that occasion he also played the *Adagio* from Spohr's ninth concerto, another favourite.

his concerto but with the rider that “not indispensably my concerto in particular – it can be any other you like”.²⁴

As further evidence of Brodsky’s reluctance to claim any ownership of the Tchaikovsky concerto can be cited his appearances as a soloist after his move to the USA in 1891, to take up the leadership of the New York Symphony Orchestra. Only after appearing in concertos by Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn and Bruch did he perform the Tchaikovsky concerto there.²⁵ That he intended to play it is evidenced by a letter to Tchaikovsky shortly after his departure, asking the composer to arrange for Vassily Safonov, the Director of the Moscow Conservatoire, to send Brodsky orchestral parts for the concerto.²⁶

Leipzig, 1883-1891

The comparative lack of references to Brodsky as a chamber musician prior to his appointment to a violin professorship at the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1883 might suggest that up to this point he envisaged developing his career largely as a soloist. Even less did he, at least at this stage, see himself primarily as an orchestral player or even as the orchestral leader in which capacity he was headhunted by Hallé. In the case of chamber music, as

²⁴ “...ne neobkholimo, chto immeno moy konsert – mozhesh kakoy ugodno”. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 16 June 1889. RNCM AB/672.

²⁵ 7 January 1893, with the New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter Damrosch. Announced in *The Sun*: 7 January 1893, p.10. For a Tchaikovsky memorial concert later that year Brodsky chose not to repeat the concerto, but to perform an arrangement of the Bach-Gounod “Ave Maria”. 19 November 1893. Announced in the *New-York Tribune*: 19 November 1893, p.22.

²⁶ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Tchaikovsky, 22 October 1891. Original at the Tchaikovsky House-Museum, Klin. Transcription in Brodsky, *Anna. Voslominaniya o russkom domye: Adolf Brodskii, Pyetr Chaikovskii, Edvard Grig v myemurakh, dnyevnikakh, pismakh*. Moskva: Isdatyelstvo Dom “Koktyebel”, 2006, pp.134-135.

noted above, it was the Leipzig years that were to mark a crucial change of direction, not least through the formation of the first Brodsky Quartet. As a quartet leader, Brodsky was able to choose his fellow players, but in less of a position than Hallé had been to place himself at centre stage and to view concerts as providing an opportunity to showcase his own talents. The only potential evidence of Brodsky's role as *primus inter pares* comes from surviving sets of parts from which his quartet is known to have played. George Kennaway has pointed out that the first violin parts of Brodsky's own quartet parts often contain very few markings compared to those for the other players, suggestive of an interpretative approach coming from the top rather than decided democratically.²⁷ Brodsky's co-players in his first quartet were Ottakar Nováček, Hans Sitt and Leopold Grützmacher.²⁸ Grützmacher was replaced by Julius Klengel during the 1885-86 season, at which time Hans Becker replaced Nováček as second violin.²⁹ Nováček rejoined the quartet, but as violist, in 1888; conversely Sitt replaced Nováček after the latter also moved to the USA in 1891. Nováček was Brodsky's pupil in Leipzig and thus his initial appointment of him as his second violinist mirrors Brodsky's own early career as second violinist to Joseph Hellmesberger nearly two decades previously. Nováček's compositions were played by the Brodsky Quartet in Leipzig and Manchester, and his early death was to be deeply felt by several in the Leipzig circle.

Brodsky's chamber concerts in Leipzig also enabled him to build up a core repertoire of chamber works drawn not just from the Austro-German canon,

²⁷ Discussed in numerous conversations between Kennaway and the author,

²⁸ Nováček had been a pupil of Schradieck.

²⁹ Grützmacher and Klengel both appear in the 1884 and '85 seasons, but Klengel appears to have been the regular 'cellist from October 1885.

but from judicious exploration of newer repertoire. More significantly, in programming new music he was in several instances to find himself in the privileged position of being able to work alongside the very composers whose music he was programming, in some cases as co-performers. Professional engagement with composers including Grieg, Busoni, Sinding, Tchaikovsky and Brahms initiated lasting friendships capable of surviving Brodsky's eventual move to Manchester. They continued where possible through personal or written contact, or through the regular appearance in Brodsky's own Manchester concerts of works by those composers who had formed his circle in Leipzig. Without the formative experiences which Leipzig offered, Brodsky would not have been as able to introduce to his Manchester audiences as yet unfamiliar repertoire which he had championed during the Leipzig period, and thereby allow his concerts to take on some of the same didactic function as those organised by Hallé some half century or more earlier. It is fortunate that Brodsky's tenure at the Leipzig Conservatoire also marks the period for which surviving documentation starts to become more substantial, providing an opportunity to examine in some detail the repertoire which Brodsky performed in Leipzig, its reception, and in some instances the correspondence with its composers.

Brodsky joined the staff of the Leipzig Conservatoire in the spring of 1883. On 9 January 1883, the Director of the Königliche Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig, Dr. Otto Günther, wrote to him offering him the post of Professor of Violin at the Conservatoire in succession to Henry Schradieck, who was leaving to work in the USA.³⁰ The initial appointment was to be for one year, commencing on 1 April.

³⁰ RNCM AB/389a.

Brodsky's reply does not appear to have survived, but the Conservatoire's *Acta Lehrer-Anstellungen und Abgänge sowie sonstige Lehrerangelegenheiten betreffend* contains a draft of a note, written and signed by Günther, dated 11 January 1883 and promulgating Brodsky's appointment to the rest of the staff.³¹ A further letter from Günther, of 12 January 1883, acknowledges receipt of Brodsky's signed contract and notes that his appointment has already been announced in the *Leipziger Tageblatt*.³² It notes as well that Brodsky's teaching commitments will begin on 2 April (his 32nd birthday N/S) and recommends that he arrive in Leipzig in mid-March.³³

Building a repertoire

Programmes for 43 separate chamber concerts given at the Leipzig Gewandhaus are held in the Brodsky Archive at the RNCM.³⁴ That they do not represent all of the concerts in which Brodsky took part is evidenced firstly by the pencilled numbering which has been added to the programmes, and secondly by the existence of reviews of concerts for which no programme is held in the collection. These survive as press cuttings, and thus it is not always possible to give an exact dating. Names of contextual newspapers are also in some cases absent, although it is possible in some instances to

³¹ *Acta Lehrer-Anstellungen und Abgänge sowie sonstige Lehrerangelegenheiten betreffend – gehalten vom Directorium des Königlichen Conservatorium der Musik zu Leipzig*, p.147. The draft has survived, with the annotation "Circul. a[n] d[en] Lehrer", but not the formal announcement or Bekanntmachung.

³² RNCM AB/389b.

³³ 2 April 1851 was Brodsky's date of birth in the Gregorian calendar. In the Julian calendar it was 21 March 1851. Julian / Gregorian dates are designated O/S or N/S throughout.

³⁴ RNCM AB/165. The programmes are pasted into the pages of a single album. Details of individual programmes are given in Appendix 2.

deduce them where they bear the name of an author who is known to have contributed to specific publications.

Additional documentation is provided by correspondence from this period. Letters to Brodsky held at the RNCM and which make allusion to chamber music performances include examples from Grieg, Brahms, Tchaikovsky and Sinding. Although letters from Busoni post-date the Leipzig period, letters from Brodsky to Busoni from 1890 onwards survive and are held at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Brodsky's letters to Grieg from 1888 onwards are to be found in the Griegsamling at the Offentlige Bibliotek in Bergen.

The most immediately striking aspect of the Gewandhaus chamber concerts is their uniformity of structure, which echoes that of Hellmesberger's concerts in Vienna. The concert programmes reveal a pattern which remained little changed throughout the Brodsky Quartet's Leipzig concerts. Almost without exception they contain three works, of which the first and last are for strings alone while the second often adds a piano to the ensemble. The model is already present in the first Leipzig chamber concert.³⁵ Given on 22 November 1884, it began with Mozart's last string quartet, K.590 and ended with Beethoven's second *Rasumovsky* Quartet, op.59 no.2. In between came Reinecke's *Phantasie* for violin and piano. op.106, in which Brodsky was accompanied by the composer. Reinecke had been on the staff of the Leipzig Conservatoire since 1860 and was later to become its Director.³⁶ This pattern, in which a more modern work is sandwiched between two more

³⁵ The programme for this is contained in RNCM AB/165.

³⁶ Reinecke remained on the staff of the Conservatoire until 1902. For the last five years of his tenure he was its Director.

traditional ones, is also repeated several times over and can thus be regarded as a secondary model.³⁷ Similarly, in their next concert, on 29 November, August Klughardt's Piano Quintet, with the composer as pianist, appeared between Beethoven's String Quartet, op.18 no.1 and Brahms G major String Sextet, op.36.³⁸

The piano – or indeed the pianist – does not, however, occupy the dominant position it enjoyed in Hallé's concerts. Moreover, actual piano solos, such as Hallé was wont to include, are conspicuous by their absence. In this context it is worthy of note that piano solos, and sometimes even songs, were still being included on a regular basis in the "Popular concerts" of chamber music given at London's St. James's Hall in the 1880s and '90s. Here too the chamber compositions featuring the piano, in some instances duos with violin, were often the final major work on the programme, either followed immediately by, or preceded by, the piano solos.³⁹ Conversely, substantial works for strings alone, which in Leipzig invariably conclude the concert, often open those in London. It was the Leipzig model rather than the London one which Brodsky was to favour in Manchester.

³⁷ A later, post-1880s, example is provided by the Leipzig Gewandhaus concert of 24 February 1906. The central work was the Viola Sonata, op.22 by Heinrich XXIV, Prince Reuss. It was preceded by Schumann's String Quartet, op.41 no.3 and a further appearance of the Beethoven String Quintet, op.29. Julius Klengel was the 'cellist. Information from the *Breitkopf Konzert-Programme-Austausch* for 1906 held at BL PP 1946 ad.

³⁸ RNCM AB/165. The extra players in the Brahms were Pfitzner, viola, and Leopold Grützmaker, 'cello.

³⁹ For example, in a Saturday Popular Concert on 23 November 1895 the final work was the Saint-Saëns Piano Trio, op.18, with pianist Clotilde Kleeberg, preceded by piano solos and songs. Violin sonatas by Brahms and Beethoven concluded the concerts on 2 December 1895 and 21 December 1895, while that on 14 December followed the Beethoven String Quintet, op.29 and 'Cello Sonata, op.102 no.2 with Schumann's *Carnaval*. Even an appearance by the Joachim Quartet on 25 March 1899 interspersed three Beethoven quartets with songs and solos. Programmes held in the Richter archive at the Hallé Concerts Society.

More detailed examination of the Leipzig repertoire and of how individual works are positioned within programmes reveals a remarkable preponderance of music by Beethoven. Of the 43 concerts for which programmes are held at the RNCM, 37 contain pieces by Beethoven, the overwhelming majority of them string quartets. Moreover, many of these individual quartets appear several times over. The middle and late period quartets are as often as not chosen to be the final works in concerts, while the op.18 works tend to stand at the beginning.⁴⁰ To the example cited above, in which op.59 no.2 ends a concert, can be added *inter alia* others in which the concluding work was one of Beethoven's late quartets op.135 (17 December 1884), op.130 (14 March 1885), op.127 (17 April 1886) op.132 (13 November 1886), or op.131 (27 March 1887).⁴¹ Such a positioning might imply the presentation of a hierarchy of status. As if to accentuate a sense of gravitas, the listing of op.135 is accompanied by the musical quotations associated with the text "Muss es sein – Es muss sein", which feature reappears on numerous occasions when Brodsky programmed this quartet throughout his performing career, and was even inscribed on the memorial slab covering Brodsky's ashes in Manchester's Southern Cemetery.

In concerts where the Beethoven work is placed first, or is absent, the concluding work is often one of the larger Schubert quartets such as the D minor, D.810 (*Death and the maiden*) or G major, D.894. The latter, for

⁴⁰ An exception to this is the concert for the inauguration of the New Gewandhaus on 10 October 1885, where Beethoven's Quartet op.59 no.3 was placed first and the concert ended with the longest work, Mozart's *Gran Partita*. K.361. The special nature of the occasion might well have prompted the choice of a programme intended to showcase as many of the Conservatoire staff as possible. The middle work in the concert was Schumann's Piano Quartet with Reinecke (RNCM AB/165).

⁴¹ These are the dates on which the Beethoven late quartets were first presented by the Brodsky Quartet in Leipzig. Several of them received subsequent performances, always as the final work in a concert.

example, ended the concert on 24 January 1885, which began with a Beethoven string trio.

String quintets appear several times as concluding works. The Schubert Quintet, D.956 appears twice, but there are no less than three performances of Beethoven's C major String Quintet, op.29, the first as early as the Brodsky Quartet's second concert.⁴² For this there is no programme at the RNCM, but a review does survive. It is authored by Bernhard Vogler and therefore likely to be from the *Leipziger Tageblatt*.⁴³ The review is headed "Zweite Kammermusik des neuen Quartetts" and refers to the Brodsky Quartet as "newly founded" (neu gebildite). The programme consisted of Mozart's quartet K.387, Schumann's Quartet, op.41 no.2 and Beethoven's Quintet, op.29, with Paul Klengel as second viola. Even in a programme which leans so heavily on the Austro-German canon, the inclusion of the Beethoven quintet was seen as something of a novelty. Vogler commented that, of the three works, the Beethoven is "on the whole not often encountered in chamber music circles".⁴⁴ In fact, surviving programmes show that Brodsky programmed the quintet on two further occasions in Leipzig; on 21 October 1887 in an all-Beethoven concert and on 7 February 1891 where it was played with Volkmann's String Quartet, op.14 and the Violin Sonata, op.29 by Busoni with the composer himself accompanying Brodsky. In addition to the Quintet, op.29, in a concert on 21 October 1885 Brodsky programmed a greater Beethoven rarity, the arrangement for string quintet of the composer's

⁴² The Schubert quintet was performed on 21 November 1885 and 14 April 1888. The second 'cellists are given respectively as Schroeder and Schulz.

⁴³ RNCM AB/8. Two copies have survived.

⁴⁴ "überhaupt nicht häufig der Kammermusikfreunden begegnet". Ibid.

Wind Octet, op.103 - the same work in which he had played the second viola part with Hellmesberger's quartet in 1867.⁴⁵

One further string quintet is worthy of comment, since in this case there survives a letter which has a direct bearing on the music's Leipzig performance. Brodsky's final concert on 11 April featured Brahms's then new String Quintet, op.111. A letter from Brahms has survived responding to Brodsky's concern that the 'cello be heard clearly at the beginning of the first movement, in which the composer suggests that "the two violinists should bluff their *forte* dynamics from the third and fourth bars of the opening to allow the 'cello line to be heard and thereby reward the violins with a beautiful *piano*".⁴⁶ Brodsky even jotted down a précis of Brahms's suggestions as an *aide memoire* on the accompanying envelope.⁴⁷

The programme for the performance of the Brahms quintet notes it as being played "for the first time" (zum ersten Mal).⁴⁸ Several performances are thus designated in the Gewandhaus programmes, apparently to indicate both first performances *per se* and first performances in Leipzig or during the

⁴⁵ The second viola in the Leipzig performance is given as Pfitzner. Thümer is listed as the second viola in the two later performances of op.29.

⁴⁶ "...das mindestens die beiden Geigen vom 3ten, 4ten Takt an ihr *f* nur heuchelen! Also unschmeicheln Sie mit einem recht schönen *mf*, er kann es Ihnen im Verlauf des Satzes durch ein schönstes *p* vergelten." Autograph letter from Johannes Brahms to Adolph Brodsky, RNCM AB/655a. Undated, apart from "April" and a postmark on the accompanying envelope of 2 April 1891. A facsimile of Brahms' letter was published in the *Manchester Guardian*, 25 January 1927, p.11. See also Styra Avins and Josef Eisinger. "Six unpublished letters from Johannes Brahms." *For the love of music: Festschrift in honor of Theodore Front on his 90th birthday*. Edited by Darwin F. Scott. Lucca: Antiqua, 2002' pp.105-136.

⁴⁷ RNCM AB/655.

⁴⁸ RNCM AB/165.

Gewandhaus concert series.⁴⁹ Here it cannot indicate the absolute first performance, which had been given in Vienna as recently as November the previous year, but several other performances so designated do appear to have been genuine premières.⁵⁰ Since a number of them are works which Brodsky chose to introduce to Manchester audiences, they provide instances of his being involved with certain pieces *ab origine* as both creator and promoter. They also demonstrate the extent to which he was prepared to engage with new repertoire, effectively using his Gewandhaus concerts as filters to decide which new works were to be retained in his repertoire and which were not.

New works which feature in the Gewandhaus chamber concerts but which are absent from Brodsky's Manchester concerts include August Klughardt's String Quartet, op.42 and Victor Bendix's Piano Trio (both 14 March 1885, with Bendix as pianist), Felix Draeseke's Quartet in C minor (6 February 1886), Julius Klengel's Quartet in G minor (13 November 1886), Salomon Jadassohn's Piano Trio, op.85 (29 January 1887) and Leo Grill's Quartet in A minor (26 February 1887). The final concert of 1888, on 15 December, included Leander Schlegel's Piano Quartet, op.6 (with Schlegel as pianist). Bernhard Vogel noted initially that it was disadvantaged by being prefaced by Brahms's A minor String Quartet, a "noble work, touched by longing and full of poetry" after hearing which the listener is so charmed that "there was hardly time to move onto something different".⁵¹ Without denying Schlegel's good intentions, he detected in his quartet the hand of "a dilettante not quite

⁴⁹ These are noted in Appendix 2.

⁵⁰ The first performance of Brahms's op.111 was given in the Musikverein on 11 November 1890.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

sure of how to express himself".⁵² The performance of Beethoven's Quartet, op.130, however, received fulsome praise: "the way in which these genial artists gave themselves to Beethoven's genius was uplifting beyond words. The Cavatina touched every living soul with its show of devotion, and who could resist the heavenly serenity of the remaining movements!"⁵³

The final concert of 1889 (14 December) brought a novelty in the form of Ruthardt's Trio for oboe, viola and piano, one of the few occasions in which a piece featuring a wind instrument was programmed. On 20 November 1887 Brodsky introduced the Violin Sonata, op.7 by Ethel Smyth, a former student of the Leipzig Conservatoire and at that stage still resident in the city. Their performance of the sonata particularly impressed Tchaikovsky, to whom Brodsky introduced the young composer.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Brodsky did not revive the sonata in Manchester.

Other composers were more fortunate. Works by Robert Volkmann appear in five of the Leipzig programmes, all but one of them a string quartet. The exception is the Piano Trio, op.5, played on 17 April 1886, with pianist Melanie Albricht.⁵⁵ The Quartet, op.35 in E minor was played twice (24 January 1885 and 13 October 1888), as was the earlier op.14 in G minor (17

⁵² "als sei es aus der Hand einer Dilettanten hervorgegangen, der nicht richtig weiss, was er sagen". Ibid.

⁵³ "und wie unbeschreiblich erheben war die Opferfeier, die von den herrlichen Künstlern dem Genius Beethoven's veranstaltet worden. In selige Schauer der Andacht versetzte die Cavatine jede fühlenden Brust, und die himmlische Heiterkeit der übrigen Sätze, wer könnte sie schildern!" Ibid.

⁵⁴ C.f. Ronald de Vet. "Čajkovskij und Ethel Smyth im Briefwechsel". *Tschaikowsky-Gesellschaft Mitteilungen*, Heft 20 (2013), pp.182–189.

⁵⁵ RNCM AB/165. Brodsky also later performed the trio in New York.

October 1886 and 3 February 1891).⁵⁶ Brodsky seems to have been particularly fond of these two quartets, which he included in Manchester programmes for the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and the Ancoats Brotherhood. The op.14 quartet he even suggested to Elgar for a concert for the Worcester Philharmonic Society, eliciting the response “I don’t know Volkmann in G min”.⁵⁷ Of Volkmann’s remaining four quartets, op.43 in E flat was subsequently played by the Brodsky Quartet, in Manchester but not in Leipzig.

Several inferences can be drawn from the above. One is that the new pieces which Brodsky performed in Leipzig invariably appear in programmes alongside standard, canonic repertoire. To be more precise, the overwhelming majority were given in concerts which included a major work by Beethoven. One might see this as mere pragmatism, programming new, unfamiliar pieces with obvious crowd-pullers in order to attract an audience, were it not for the structure of other concerts, which rely equally heavily on canonic works.

Another is that the new pieces themselves – or at least those which found the most favour - often tend to be by composers active in the Leipzig area, or associated with the Conservatoire itself, either as a current or former teacher or as a former student. This is equally true of a number of pieces which, although not singled out as being new works, are by composers associated with Leipzig, such as Volkmann or Herzogenberg. These are often composers, too, who stand in the more conservative tradition of what in the

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 17 February 1903. RNCM AB/723. This is a response to Brodsky’s letter of two days previously. Elgar Birthplace Museum (EBM) L2400.

1880s would have counted as contemporary music. Interesting in this context is the comment made by Reinhold Sietz in his article on Reinecke in the *New Grove*. (Reinecke was appointed Director of the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1897).

Reinecke transformed the conservatory into one of the most renowned in Europe. Grieg, Kretzschmar, Kwast, Muck, Riemann, Sinding, Svendsen, Sullivan and Weingartner were all pupils there; and to this distinguished list could be added many other names of equal repute, showing how exaggerated was the reproach, made particularly in north Germany, that Leipzig was a hotbed of reaction (although this criticism had some justification after 1880). But it cannot be denied that Reinecke considered it his responsibility as director to perpetuate the example of the Classical composers; he was very conscious of his position as a representative and guardian of tradition.⁵⁸

William Weber, in discussing student concerts at the Leipzig Conservatoire in the 1880s, has also drawn attention not only to the Austro-German bias of much of what was performed, but also to the fact that the percentage of new music offered was significantly higher than that heard outside in the concert hall and that this percentage drops in the case of the Conservatoire's formal concerts.⁵⁹ A hint as to Brodsky's own attitudes to newer music is provided some two decades later in a letter from his wife Anna to Nina Grieg. Writing from Marienbad in 1911, she comments that

⁵⁸ Reinhold Sietz. "Reinecke, Carl". *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23128 (Acc. 19 July 2010).

⁵⁹ William Weber. "Concerts at four conservatoires in the 1880s: a comparative analysis". *Musical education in Europe (1770-1914): compositional, institutional and political challenges*. Edited by Michael Fend and Michel Noiray. Vol.2. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005; pp.331-349.

...I'm writing beneath beautifully perfumed pine trees, surrounded by the strains of an orchestra playing a cheerful waltz by Johannes [sic] Strauss... Only a musical genius could have brought this music into being...We – Adolph and I wish we could enjoy some of the modern composers but up till now haven't had much success with Debussy, Max Reger and Delius etc.⁶⁰

Of those composers with whom Brodsky did either establish or resume contact in Leipzig, several merit discussion in more detail. These are the ones for whom the contact was to be maintained, either in person or through correspondence, beyond the Leipzig period, in some instances well after Brodsky's move to Manchester in 1895.

Nováček

Brodsky inherited Ottokar Nováček as a violin student from his predecessor Otto Sevcík. Like Brodsky, Nováček was also subsequently to quit Leipzig for New York and a position in Walter Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra. In one of Brodsky's final Leipzig concerts, on 10 January 1891, he premièred Nováček's as yet unpublished E minor String Quartet.⁶¹ A letter from Nováček to Brodsky confirms that the quartet must already have been completed at that stage, as Nováček refers to having submitted it for a competition, jokingly offering to give Brodsky half the prize money should he win, since "...while I was writing it, I continued to hear you playing the violin,

⁶⁰ "Ich schreibe Dir unter schönen duftenden Tannen, unweit von mir spielt das Orchester einen herrlichen Walzer von Johannes [sic] Strauss... Wir - Adolph u[nd] ich wünschsen wir könnten einige von den modernen Componisten geniessen, aber bis jetzt ist es uns mit Debussy Max Reger u[nd] Delius etc. nicht gelungen". Autograph letter from Anna Brodsky to Nina Grieg, 9 August 1911. Bergen: Offentlige Bibliotek (Griegsamling). 0237054.

⁶¹ The quartet is listed as being played from MS.

and it was as if you played and then I wrote it down; now I fear that this was a kind of plagiarism, so that, should I receive the prize, you'll claim half of it".⁶²

That Nováček regarded Brodsky as more than just a musical mentor is evidenced by a series of (mostly undated or partially dated) letters in which he not only discusses his progress as a chamber music composer but either asks or thanks Brodsky for his financial support. In one such, dated only "Tuesday", Nováček admits to having fallen on hard times, but includes a revised ending to the *Adagio* of his quartet.⁶³ Internal evidence suggests that such begging letters continued to come from Nováček's pen after both he and Brodsky had left Leipzig and even after Brodsky's move to Manchester. One, dated only October 20, asks for money "since I have lost 20 Marks in a most stupid way", before updating Brodsky on the progress of his second and third quartets.⁶⁴ Another, this time dated 5 September 1898 and thus three years after Brodsky had settled in Manchester, finds Nováček admitting to feeling distressed that he relies so much on Brodsky's financial support, while eagerly awaiting the 100 Marks the latter has promised him.⁶⁵ Yet Brodsky

⁶² "...habe ich es als Bewerbung um den "Bonner Preis für hervorragende Kammermusik" der Jury eingesendet... Während ich das Quartett componirte, hörte ich dich stets deine Violine spielen und zwar so als spieltest du mir das Stücke vor und ich schrieb was mir nach; jetzt fürchte ich aber, das es eine Art vom Plagiat würde, du im Falle ich den Preis bekomme, die Hälfte beanspruchen willst". Autograph letter from Ottokar Nováček to Adolph Brodsky, 8 December 1887. RNCM AB/789. An undated letter (RNCM AB/788) would appear to have been written earlier, as in it Nováček thanks Brodsky for his encouragement at his first attempts at composition.

⁶³ Presumably the E minor quartet, since only this has a slow movement marked *Adagio*. The enclosed revision has not survived. RNCM AB/783.

⁶⁴ "...habe ich glatt 20 M. verloren auf die dummste Art". The letter refers to Busoni performing Nováček's Piano concerto, published in 1894; the second quartet (op.10) was published in 1898 and the third (op.13) posthumously in 1904, which would suggest that the letter dates from the second half of the 1890s. RNCM AB/787.

⁶⁵ "...sende ich meinen innigsten Dank für den Brief und sehnlichst erwarteten 100 Märken. Es ist mir immer ein sehr drückendes Gefühl, zu wissen, dass du immer durch die Absendung geplagt bist dann, dass ich von dir das Geld erhalten muss und nicht von einem Millionär...". RNCM AB/709.

was happy not merely to perform his sometime pupil's music in Manchester, but to go so far as to suggest he visit the city to recuperate from his various problems.⁶⁶

Grieg

Brotsky's meeting with Grieg in Leipzig was to prove the start of one his most lasting friendships. The earliest correspondence between the two musicians dates from this period and continues until Grieg's death in September 1907, and the link was to be kept alive in the copious correspondence between Nina Grieg and the Brodskys, and thereafter with Anna Brodsky's sister Olga Picard, until Nina's death in 1935.

The earliest known letter from Brodsky to Grieg, from January 1888, concerns two of the chamber works which Brodsky premiered in Leipzig.⁶⁷ One is the Piano Quintet by Christian Sinding – not performed until January 1889 – the other a violin sonata by Grieg which, from its designation as “your new sonata” (ihrer neue Sonate) must be that in C minor, op.45.⁶⁸ It had been first given by Brodsky and the composer on 10 December 1887; the rehearsal alluded to in the letter was presumably in preparation for the second performance, on 22 February 1888. As Chapter 4 demonstrates in more detail, not only was arranging for a visit from the Griegs one of Brodsky's earliest priorities after settling in Manchester, but he was most anxious that it

⁶⁶ The suggestion is referred to in an autograph letter from Ottokar Nováček to Adolph Brodsky, 23 February 1898. The letter also mentions Nováček having sent Brodsky a manuscript score of one of his quartets, presumably the third. RNCM AB/791.

⁶⁷ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edvard Grieg. Bergen: Griegsamling, 02370260.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

was the composer's three violin sonatas which should be showcased in the concerts in which he was keen for Grieg to take part. It was also an autograph manuscript of the violin part of the op.45 Sonata which Grieg gave to Brodsky as a souvenir of his eventual visit in 1897.⁶⁹ Grieg also alludes to this sonata and the earlier F major Sonata, op.8 in a letter written to Brodsky from London in May 1888. He had been rehearsing both works for a concert to be given with the violinist Wilma Neruda in St. James's Hall and makes an interesting, if highly gendered, comparison between her playing and Brodsky's.

I think of your wonderful fiddle only too often. I've rehearsed with Neruda. She plays very beautifully, and there were even certain instances where the "eternal feminine" carried me away. The energy is there, but it's a feminine energy. The big, masculine [energy] by its very nature can't be.⁷⁰

Somewhat surprisingly, Grieg's String Quartet, op.27 was given only once by the Brodsky Quartet in Leipzig.⁷¹ Brodsky revived it several times in Manchester, but was equally keen to champion the posthumous F major quartet, which work had been intended specifically for the Brodsky Quartet. Simon Speelman would also have been familiar with op.27 owing to its inclusion in two of Henry Rensburg's Liverpool concerts in the 1880s.

⁶⁹ RNCM AB/1/11.

⁷⁰ "An Ihrer wunderbaren Geige denke ich nur zu oft. Mit der Neruda habe ich probirt, Sie spielt sehr schön, und es gabt sogar gewisse Dinge was da "ewig weibliche" mich ganz fortreisst. Der Schwung ist da, aber der weibliche Schwung. Der grosse, männliche, kan selbstverständlich nicht da sein". Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 10 May 1888. RNCM AB/576. Wilma Neruda also included the Grieg op.45 sonata in her repertoire for the concert tours she undertook in the early 1890s. C.f. Jutte Heise, *Die Geigenvirtuosen Wilma Neruda (1838-1911). Biografie und Repertoire*. Hildesheim: Georg Ohms Verlag, 2013, p.157 et seq.

⁷¹ 18 February 1888. RNCM AB/165.

Busoni

As one of the foreign musicians to visit Manchester most frequently in the early years of the twentieth century, Busoni's role as a member of the Brodsky circle assumes a particular significance. Busoni had initially come to Leipzig to study at the Conservatoire with Reinecke, and his association with the city from the mid-1880s until the end of the decade witnessed his appearance in several of the Gewandhaus concerts as both pianist and composer. It was Busoni, in fact, who took the role of pianist in the première of Sinding's Piano Quintet, referred to above. He also appeared with Brodsky in a performance of Anton Rubinstein's Piano Trio, op.52.⁷² Of more lasting importance than either was the creation, with Brodsky, of his own first Violin Sonata, op.29; important because this work and Busoni's second sonata, op.36a were both given their first Manchester performances by Brodsky.

The first performance of the Sonata, op.29 took place on 7 February 1891, by which time Busoni had left Leipzig to pursue his career in Russia. On this occasion the description of the work as having being played "for the first time" can be taken at its face value. It was heard alongside Volkmann's String Quartet, op.14 and a revival of the Beethoven Quintet, op.29. Reviewing the concert in the *Leipziger Nachrichte*, Bernhard Vogel opened by remarking on "how quickly and how durably have Mr. Brodsky and his colleagues shown themselves sympathetic to supporting young chamber music composers."⁷³ He referred to Busoni having on previous occasions impressed the

⁷² 1 February 1890. AB RNCM/165.

⁷³ "Sehr lebhaft und nachhaltig ist der Antheil, den Herr Brodsky und seine Genossen and dem Streben junger Kammermusikkomponisten nimmt". RNCM AB/012. The reference to the concert taking place "the previous day but one" (vorgestern) dates the review to 9 February 1891.

Gewandhaus audiences as “a distinguished and high-spirited pianist” and that as the composer of the sonata “he assured himself in all three movements of a creditable reception”.⁷⁴ His overall impression, however, is somewhat cool, suggestive of one whose real sympathies elsewhere:

The whole sonata appears to us as the fortunate work of an earnestly striving Janus-like composer. It doesn't prattle on like that orchestral fantasy with which Busoni once brought the Gewandhaus audience halfway to despair; it has measure and purpose and secures for its composer... genuine sympathy.⁷⁵

Having dealt with the sonata, Vogel reserves his purple prose for the rest of the programme, enthusing about the “electrifying” performance of the finale of the Beethoven which “towered over the preceding movements”, where “here the poet holds boundless sway”.⁷⁶ The opening tremolo of the movement is “like a rocket illuminating the blackness of night”; the minuet elicits the comment “how charmingly the Minuet weaves its way in, the reflection of complete gracefulness!”.⁷⁷ The presence of a Beethoven work offers a gift to the author when reviewing the other recent work in the concert, the G minor quartet of Robert Volkmann, op.14. One reads of “the sparkling humour of

⁷⁴ “...ein auszezeichneter, temperamentvoller Pianist...” - “...sicherte er der Neuheit in jedem drei Sätze eine ehrenvolle Aufnahme,,”. Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Die ganze Sonate erscheint uns als das glückliche Werke eines ernststrebenden, nach Janen gewandten Tonsichters. Sie schießt nicht in das Blaue hinein wie jene Orchesterfantasie, mit der Busoni die Gewandhaushörer zu halber Verzweiflung gebracht; sie halt Mass und Ziel und erwirkt dem Componisten... aufrichtige Sympathien”. Ibid.

⁷⁶ “Beethoven's Streichquintett... electrifirte am meisten mit dem Finale; es überragt in der That alle die übrigen Sätze...” – „hier waltet der Poet unumschränkt”. Ibid.

⁷⁷ “wie eine leuchtende Rakete in schwarzer Nacht... wie anmuthig webt sich das Menuett ein, der Abglanz vollendeter Grazie!” Ibid.

the Scherzo, reaching out to Beethoven".⁷⁸ The language bears a striking resemblance to Vogel's review of an earlier performance which was heard on 17 October 1886, where one reads of the "spirited humour in the Scherzo, which has the seal of Beethoven stamped on its brow".⁷⁹ Beethoven is clearly the yardstick by which other works can be judged.

Tchaikovsky

Brodsky had already been in Leipzig for over three years before he resumed correspondence with Tchaikovsky. Eight letters written by Brodsky to Tchaikovsky in 1882 are held at Klin, while five from Tchaikovsky from the same year are held at the RNCM. The majority of the subsequent letters which survive date from 1888-91, which fact can be explained in part by Tchaikovsky's several visits to Leipzig, not least that made during Christmas and New Year 1887-88, when he was a guest of the Brodskys.⁸⁰ Another explanation is offered by two letters written in March and October 1888, to Adolph and Anna respectively, the first of which expresses a fear that his earlier letters to both Brodsky and Grieg might have gone astray, the second his concern that Brodsky's failure to reply to further letters might signal a break in their friendship.⁸¹

⁷⁸ "sprühende, an Beethoven heranreichende Humor des Scherzo,,,". Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Dieser...geistreiche Humor im Scherzo, dem das Beethoven'sche Siegel auf die Stirn gedrückt ist...". RNCM AB/64.

⁸⁰ This was the occasion when Tchaikovsky and Brahms met for the first time, at a New Year's Day dinner given by the Brodskys at which Edvard and Nina Grieg were also guests. Tchaikovsky sat in on a rehearsal of Brahms' op.101 Piano trio, later confessing in private to Brodsky that he had not liked it. This was presumably a rehearsal for the performance which Brahms and Brodsky gave the following day with the cellist Julius Klengel. The event is discussed in detail in Anna Brodsky. *Recollections of a Russian home...*, pp.153-162.

⁸¹ Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 27 March 1888. RNCM AB/668. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Anna Brodsky, 8 October 1888. RNCM AB/669. There are indeed no surviving letters from Brodsky to Tchaikovsky in the

Although several of Tchaikovsky's letters to Brodsky allude to chamber music performances, these are concerned with arrangements for concerts which Brodsky was to give in Moscow. The first, from January 1886, discusses a series of concerts which Brodsky's quartet was invited to give during the 1887-88 season for the Moscow branch of the Imperial Music Society, of which Tchaikovsky was Director. In it Tchaikovsky hints that politically he has to tread warily, as there might be objections from the Society at Brodsky's already having played for the Philharmonic Society.⁸² Concerning the Quartet's proposed visit in the following season, Tchaikovsky was most anxious about the details.⁸³

Regarding your quartet the Board of Directors of the Musical Society decided to offer you a series of quartet evenings under the arrangements I suggested. That is – you are guaranteed 500 roubles each, and in case there is a surplus profit then all this surplus is to be yours. This series, as we agreed, is taken for granted to be at the end of December and the beginning of January.⁸⁴

Tchaikovsky was also aware that his proposal would entail the quartet having to make two visits. In his next letter he attempted to justify this by adding to

intervening period. Tchaikovsky confesses in his letter to Anna that he had lost the Brodskys' address and had been sending his letters to the Leipzig Conservatoire.

⁸² Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 26 November (OS) 1886. RNCM AB/667.

⁸³ The underlinings are Tchaikovsky's own.

⁸⁴ "Chto kasaetsya tvoego kvarteta, to direktsiya Myz[ikalnogo] obshch[estva] reshila otnyat ot menya antreprizy i predlagaet vam seriyu kvartetnikh vecherov, na tekhn zhe usloviyakh, chto i ya predlagel. T.e. ona garantiruet vam kazhdomu po 500r., a v sluchae, esli okazhetsya izlishek dokholov, to ves izlishek vam. Prednolagaetsya seriya eta, kak mi ugovorilis, v kontse dekabrya i nachale yanvaryaya". Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 2 June (OS) 1889. RNCM AB/671.

the four concerts a concerto appearance in St Petersburg. “Concerning Petersburg, it would be sheer madness not to take advantage of the occasion to play there. It is an absolute must that Petersburg should hear you.”⁸⁵

Musical politics intruded once more, as Tchaikovsky, having organised a revised schedule which entailed only one two-week visit by the Brodsky Quartet, had arranged for a different pianist to perform in each concert, and was therefore obliged to stick with his original plan for four concerts if none of his pianists was to be left out. Moreover, two of them were regarded as “influential” and would pull in audiences.⁸⁶ All four are mentioned in a letter of 4 October, which more significantly offers a clue as to the proposed repertoire, which would include Rubinstein’s Piano Quintet, op.99 and Tchaikovsky’s own Piano Trio, op.50.⁸⁷

Neither of these works actually appeared in Brodsky’s Leipzig programmes, although both composers are represented and the Tchaikovsky Trio was one of the works which Brodsky introduced to Manchester. The most substantial chamber work by Tchaikovsky to feature in the Leipzig concerts is the String Quartet, op.30, given on 17 November 1888, and also subsequently given its first Manchester performance by the Brodsky Quartet.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ “Chto kasaetsya Peterburga, to bilo bi chistim bezumiem, esli bi vi ne vospolzovalis sluchaem, chtobi i tam poigrat. Nepremenno nuzhno, chtobi i Peterburg vas uznal”. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brtodsky, 16 June (OS) 1889. RNCM AB/672.

⁸⁶ “Dvoe iz nikh zles ochen vlyatelni...”. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 15 September (OS) 1889. RNCM AB/674.

⁸⁷ Tchaikovsky mentions Pabst, Tonger, Safonov and Siloti, adding that the last two were yet to confirm. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 4 October (OS) 1889. RNCM AB/675.

⁸⁸ RNCM AB/165.

Brodsky leaves Leipzig

The Brodsky Quartet gave its last concert in Leipzig on 11 April 1891. They played quartets by Haydn (op.77 no.1) and Beethoven (op.127) and gave the first Leipzig performance of Brahms's String Quintet, op.111, referred to above.⁸⁹ The Griegs were more than sorry to see them go, fearing that they might not see them again. Nina Grieg wrote to Anna Brodsky in June 1891, expressing her concerns: "It sounds almost as if we should see each other for the last time. Dear Mrs. Brodsky, the news has made us really sad".⁹⁰ She also requested that, if the Brodskys were to find it possible to visit them in Bergen, then they should bring Nováček with them, as he too was shortly to leave Leipzig to join Damrosch's orchestra. Her husband felt equally saddened by the Brodskys' departure: "I can only say that the news has touched us painfully and cast a shadow over the light of our summer".⁹¹

Tchaikovsky's final letter to Brodsky before the latter's departure for New York is more positive, but nothing if not ironic in its belief that Brodsky's new career would prove successful and that he would find the city as congenial as Tchaikovsky himself had done on his own recent visit.

I have long known through Damrosch about your appointment, and approved your decision to move to America. I am convinced that you will settle there favourably, and that you will be satisfied from every

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Hans Sitt was the second viola player.

⁹⁰ "Es klingt ungefähr als ob wir uns das letzten Mal sehen sollten. Liebe Frau Brodsky, die Nachricht hat uns recht traurig gemacht". Autograph letter from Nina Grieg to Anna Brodsky, 13 June 1891. RNCM AB/797.

⁹¹ "Ich kann nur sagen, dass die Nachricht uns sehr schmerzlich berührt hat und einen Schatten unseren lichten Sommer lagen geworfen". Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Anna Brodsky, 27 June 1891. RNCM AB/798.

angle. But will you not fret just a little about the warm corner you made in Leipzig?⁹²

In truth, as the next chapter aims to show, Brodsky was to fret more than a little and strive to keep the memories of that warm corner alive.

⁹² “Ya uzhe davno znal ot Damrosha o tvoem angazhemente i odobryal tvoe peshenie perevatsya v Ameriku. Ubezhen, chto ti tam prevoskholno ustroinisya i budesh dovolen vo vseh otnosheniyakh. No ne budesh li ti pervoe vremya nemnozhko oskovat o teplom ugolke, nasizhenom v Leiptsige?”. Autograph letter from Tchaikovsky to Adolph Brodsky, 19 October (OS) 1891. RNCM AB/677.

Chapter 3

American interlude 1891-1894

On 23 October 1891 the Brodskys left Leipzig for New York, sailing on the Fürst Bismarck. They arrived on 31 October. As a primary source for information on Brodsky's career in the USA, the account given in Anna Brodsky's *Recollections of a Russian home* cannot be overlooked, not least for what it reveals about her husband's reaction to the concert life he found there.¹ Although written with hindsight and from an understandably subjective viewpoint, Anna's commentary, when read alongside less partisan contemporary sources, helps shed light on why Brodsky's sojourn in New York was to come to a premature end and why he was to take the decision to return to Europe - which was in turn to lead to his accepting Hallé's offer to come to Manchester. While there is no doubt that the catalyst for the decision was to be Brodsky's disagreement with Walter Damrosch, Anna's implication is that the seeds of doubt were to be sown almost from the start. If, as she claims, Brodsky realised at an early stage that leaving Leipzig for New York was a mistake, it would explain the resolve with which the decision to quit the USA was eventually made.

What Anna does not reveal, despite a passing mention of Brodsky's chamber concerts in New York, is any detail of the repertoire he performed there. For that information, other sources, such as contemporary newspapers, become crucial in demonstrating the extent to which Brodsky's approach to concert planning and repertoire was coloured by his experiences in Leipzig. This is particularly the case

¹ Brodsky, Anna. *Recollections of a Russian home....*, p.173 et seq. Anna Brodsky's claim that she and her husband left for New York in September 1891 is obviously a slip of memory. The correct dates can be accessed via *Hamburger Passagierlisten 1850-1934*. 373-71, VIII A I, Bd.076 A.

given the consideration that for the whole of this period in Brodsky's career hardly any other documentation has survived. There is nothing at the RNCM beyond a handful of press cuttings, and no correspondence is extant at the RNCM, in the Damrosch papers at the Library of Congress or in the archive of the New York Symphony Orchestra now held at New York Public Library. Particularly frustrating is the lack of any material relating to Brodsky's appointment. A short biographical article, published in Vienna and towards the end of Brodsky's career, simply mentions that "In 1890 Brodsky received an invitation from New York to take over the leadership of an orchestra..."² Howard Shanet, discussing the New York Symphony Orchestra in his history of the New York Philharmonic, sheds some valuable light on Damrosch's practice in appointing players:

In building up his orchestra, Damrosch frequently imported gifted musicians from Europe. In this he had the advantage over the Philharmonic, which, as a cooperative society... was naturally reluctant to bring in its own competition from abroad. In 1891, when he was hastening to strengthen his orchestra... he persuaded the union to waive the six-months rule so he could bring in the Russian violinist Adolph Brodsky as concertmaster.³

The "six-months rule", requiring a minimum period of residency in the United States for non-American musicians, underpinned Brodsky's problems with Damrosch and is discussed later in this chapter.

² "Im Jahre 1890 erhielt Brodsky eine Einladung aus New-York, die Leitung eines Orchesters zu übernehmen...". Graf, Max. "Glossen über Kunst und Kultur. (Dr. Adolph Brodsky)". *Wiener Journal*: 30 January 1921, p.8.

³ Howard Shanet. *Philharmonic: a history of New York's orchestra*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1975, p.198.

The paucity of material at the RNCM relating to this period is particularly noticeable, given the ample documentation from other periods in Brodsky's career, and could be read as symptomatic of a wish to minimise any reminders of what was to prove a traumatic episode for him.

Brodsky's first concerts with the New York Symphony were in November 1891.⁴

Anna, refusing to call either the orchestra or its conductor by name, recorded her husband's unease with the experience.

After the very first rehearsal with the X Orchestra he came home disappointed and out of spirits. He daily met with musicians of a type quite new to him, a type which could only have developed in a country where there was no tradition of serving art for art's sake.

He soon saw that money was everything in America, the universal centre of gravity. Even the talent of musicians was measured by the money they earned, and the true love of art seemed very rare... Two alternatives remained for him: either to return to Europe immediately and break his contract... or to stay and to create a new position for himself more suitable to his artistic tastes. He chose the second way".⁵

⁴ The Digital Archives of the New York Philharmonic list only those concerts in which Brodsky appeared as soloist: 13/14 November 1891 (Brahms Violin Concerto); 6/7 January 1893 (Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto); 19 November 1893 (concerto unknown). C.f. <http://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program> (Acc. 31 May 2016).

⁵ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., pp.183-4.

For Brodsky, this “second way” entailed a reinvolvement with chamber music, through which “A.B. gathered strength and courage for the rest of his work”.⁶ Anna claims that this was made possible by a conscious decision to restrict the number of popular orchestral concerts in which he played. This should, though, be viewed in conjunction with the following announcement, which appeared in the New York newspaper *The Sun* on 1 November 1891.

Mr. Walter Damrosch announces that he has formed a string quartet, composed of four distinguished members of his orchestra, to be called the New York Symphony String Quartet, which will appear at Chamber Music Hall Building, in eight chamber music concerts on Sunday afternoons, beginning December. Adolph Brodsky, first violin, second violin to be announced, Jan Koert viola, and Anton Hekking, violoncello.⁷

If the decision to form a string quartet really was Damrosch’s, it might well have been a ploy to keep his new concertmaster on his side. He might also have wanted to enter into competition with Gustav Dannreuther’s Beethoven String Quartet, which had already given a number of seasons in New York. Dannreuther’s quartet gave only three concerts per season, as opposed to the eight which Damrosch proposed, but had the longer pedigree. A notice in the *New York Tribune* in 1893 commended it as having “upheld the banner of chamber music faithfully and valiantly for seven years”.⁸

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.186.

⁷ *The Sun*: 1 November 1891, p.15

⁸ *New York Tribune*: 10 March 1893, p.6.

Even if had it not been Damrosch's desire to compete with Dannreuther's quartet, and the decision to give quartet concerts were thus wholly Brodsky's, an element of risk was involved. For, as Anna further comments, "This was something quite new to New York, and our acquaintances predicted that it would be a complete failure".⁹ She notes too that the audiences were small but appreciative, and that she was "struck by the fact that the general attitude to art was curiously primitive and materialistic".¹⁰ More significantly, the audience for Brodsky's chamber concerts was self-selecting. In an observation that had once been made in respect of Hallé's Manchester chamber concerts, and which would be echoed in the pages of the Manchester press some two decades later, those audience members "who had been trained to appreciate music elsewhere...were mostly Germans".¹¹ The implication, that those best able to appreciate an imported musical culture were themselves emigrés from one of its cultural heartlands, reveals a strain, not merely of Eurocentric thinking, but of assumed cultural superiority. This assumption is not merely restricted to Anna's remarks but can be identified as an important trope in Brodsky's New York chamber concerts themselves.

Brodsky's choice of repertoire for the chamber concerts he gave in the 1891-92 season would certainly have found favour with New York's German ex-patriots, since it differed little from that which he had until recently presented in Leipzig. The opening concert, on 6 December 1891, featured Schubert's D minor quartet *Death and the maiden*, a Haydn quartet noted only as "in G" (quite possibly his favourite

⁹ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., p.185.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.183.

¹¹ Ibid., p.186.

op.17 no.5) and the third of Beethoven's *Rasumovskys*, op.59 no.3.¹² The presence of two works as weighty as the Schubert and Beethoven on the same programme might suggest a conscious decision, not merely to showcase two works which by this stage could already be counted among Brodsky's warhorses, but to instil the notion that this was a series of concerts to be taken seriously. Subsequent concerts also suggest that, like Hallé in his initial Manchester chamber concerts, Brodsky constructed some of his programmes to have a thematic, or even didactic, purpose. Two concerts, for example, begin with quartets from Beethoven's op.18 and end with quartets by Schumann.¹³ Elsewhere in the 1891-92 season there were performances of other quartets from the *Rasumovsky* set, including two of op.59 no.1.¹⁴ Furthermore, a substantial review of a concert from the 1892-93 series makes it clear that in his second season Brodsky was happy to repeat works which he had given in his first, referring to a performance of "the third quartet of Beethoven's Russian set" and noting "the intelligence with which the composer's purposes are grasped and bodied forth [sic] in the interpretation".¹⁵ Such a rigid adherence to the Austro-German repertoire might also have had a secondary function for Brodsky, that of providing a musical comfort zone offering some respite from any sense of unease experienced by being estranged from his cultural roots. In this context it is interesting to note that, unlike Dannreuther's quartet, he chose not to incorporate any music by American-born composers into his programmes.¹⁶

¹² Announced in the *New York Tribune*: 3 December 1891, p.3. The announcement lists the dates of the concerts for the whole season.

¹³ 20 December 1891 and 21 February 1892 respectively. Both announced in *The Sun* on the day of the respective concerts.

¹⁴ 31 January 1892 and 20 March. Announced in *The Sun* on 31 January 1892 and 19 March 1892 respectively.

¹⁵ "The Brodsky Quartet". *New York Tribune*: 8 March 1893, p.6.

¹⁶ The *New York Tribune*: 11 February 1894, p.24 lists the Beethoven String Quartet as playing a quartet by Horatio Parker in a concert which included chamber music and songs by Titus d'Ernesti and Frank E. Sawyer, both recorded as being "of New York."

Despite his continued keenness to construct programmes around the Beethoven quartets, he did not in this first season venture beyond op.59. If quartet recitals really were a novelty in New York, Beethoven's later quartets might not have proved so much of a box office draw. Admission costs were also kept reasonably low, with single concerts priced at \$1, and \$5 for the whole season. Nevertheless, the audience was "very small...for a city the size of New York".¹⁷ The concerts also appear to have attracted very little press coverage beyond straightforward advertisements, which might also indicate a comparative lack of interest.

As in Leipzig, Brodsky favoured a programme structure of three works, reserving the second place for pieces that introduced a guest performer and/or less familiar repertoire. Thus in the second concert of the first series, Damrosch himself appeared as pianist in a performance of Brahms's Piano Trio, op.101.¹⁸ On 21 February 1892 Alexander Lambert took part in a performance of Volkmann's B flat minor Piano Trio, here revived after being premiered by Brodsky in Leipzig.¹⁹ The presence of both piano trios in the Beethoven-Schumann concerts referred to above enhances the thematic nature of those concerts. A further revival of a work first performed by Brodsky in Leipzig took place in the concert of 31 January 1892, in the form of Busoni's recent Violin Sonata, op.29, again given with the composer as pianist.²⁰ Here it was judiciously placed between the more obvious box office draw of quartets by Mendelssohn and Beethoven. Brodsky was to opt for the same pairing of

¹⁷ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., p.185.

¹⁸ Announced in *The Sun*: 20 December 1891, p.9.

¹⁹ Announced in *The Sun*: 21 February 1892, p.7.

²⁰ Announced in *The Sun*: 31 January 1892, p.9.

a novelty with a Beethoven quartet later in the season, when he and Ignaz Paderewski performed the latter's A minor Violin Sonata. In the same concert Paderewski joined members of the quartet in Brahms's Piano Quartet, op.26.

For Brodsky's 1892-93 season Jan Koert was replaced as the quartet's violist by Ottokar Nováček, newly appointed as Damrosch's principal viola. For Brodsky, being reunited with his former Leipzig pupil and quartet partner justified his decision to programme Nováček's E minor Quartet in his concert of 24 January 1893, where it was announced in the press as being heard for the first time in New York.²¹ As in the preceding season, Brodsky continued his willingness to present as novelties to his New York audience works which he had introduced in Leipzig.

Programming for the season as a whole is more adventurous than in the preceding one. An overview published in the *New York Tribune* in October 1892 mentions that it was to include *inter alia* Beethoven's Quartets, op.130 and op.132, Grieg's G minor Quartet, quartets by Brahms, Goldmark's Suite for violin and piano and Saint-Saëns G minor Piano Quartet.²² The reliability of the author's source of information is, however, open to question, since it refers to a Haydn quartet "in B" (which is unlikely to accord with the German designation for "B flat", as this is not used elsewhere by the newspaper) and a Tchaikovsky quartet "in A minor", neither of which accord with known works. One might also read it as indicative of a general lack of musical knowledge on the part of the press. Moreover, the date of one of the concerts was either given inaccurately or subsequently changed, raising the

²¹ Announced in *The Sun*: 22 January 1893, p.9. An earlier advance announcement in the same newspaper of the whole season lists this concert for 17 January. C.f. *The Sun*: 16 October 1892, p.9.

²² Announced in the *New York Tribune*: 3 October 1892, p.6.

possibility that programmes themselves might subsequently have been altered. The concert announced for 17 January 1893 was actually given a week later on 24 January, and included a performance of Beethoven's *Harp Quartet*, op.74, mention of which is absent from the overview referred to above.²³ Conversely, press announcements for individual concerts make no mention of the promised two late Beethoven quartets, suggesting a certain pragmatism in the face of over-ambitious programming. Another work not mentioned in the announcement of October 1892 is the Liszt B minor Piano Sonata, played by Arthur Friedheim on 14 February 1893 as the central work in a programme otherwise consisting of the D minor Quartet, K.421 by Mozart, a composer not represented in the preceding season, and Brahms' C minor Quartet, op.51 no.1.²⁴ The concert otherwise continues the three-work pattern of the previous season, with works introducing a piano placed between two for strings alone. Other examples are afforded by the concert of 24 January 1893, where Maria Gesellschaft performed Saint-Saëns G minor Piano Quintet alongside the Nováček E minor Quartet and Beethoven's op.74, referred to above, and 7 March 1893, where Schumann's Piano Quintet was heard between quartets by Haydn and Beethoven.²⁵ The pianist was William Sherwood (1854-1911), a sometime pupil of Liszt who had also studied at the Leipzig Conservatoire shortly prior to Brodsky's tenure there.²⁶

²³ Announced in *The Sun*: 22 January 1893, p.9.

²⁴ Announced in *The Sun*: 12 February 1893, p.9. Both the Mozart and Brahms quartets were included in the original announcement of the forthcoming season in October 1892.

²⁵ Announced respectively in *The Sun*: 22 January 1893, p.9 and *The Sun*: 5 March 1893, p.9. This is Brodsky's last known chamber concert in New York. (See Appendix 3).

²⁶ C.f. <http://suite101.com/a/american-pianist-william-sherwood-a69228> (Acc. 30 October 2013)

These were the only two complete seasons of chamber concerts which Brodsky was to give in New York. By the end of 1893 he was no longer the leader of the New York Symphony Orchestra or of its string quartet. Once again, Anna's *Recollections* and contemporary press coverage offer complementary insights into the events which were to lead to his resignation. One major event which Anna does not mention, but which might well have cast its own shadow over Brodsky's final months as Damrosch's leader, was the death of Tchaikovsky on 6 November – ironically on the very day the Brodskys sailed to New York for the last time. There is no record of when or how they learned that Tchaikovsky had died, nor indeed of their reaction to the news, but it is more than fair to speculate that the loss of such a friend would have affected Brodsky profoundly, not least in contributing to a sense of isolation from his European circle.

At the start of the 1893-94 season, Damrosch replaced Anton Hekking as his principal 'cellist with the Danish Anton Hegner. By implication this would also have involved a change of personnel for Brodsky's quartet, but this was not the prime issue. Not only was Hegner paid an inordinately generous annual salary of \$3,500, but he was appointed in contravention of a ruling by the Musical Protective Union that no person could join the union without first having been resident in the USA for a minimum of six months. Damrosch justified his action by drawing a parallel with his waiving of this ruling for Brodsky himself, on the grounds that "when Brodsky came over the union recognized him as an artist and suspended its rule requiring that a musician shall have been in the United States six months before he can join the

union”.²⁷ In response to Damrosch’s request that the same criteria should apply to Hegner “some members of the union... and who do not like Damrosch, objected”.²⁸

Those who did object were in one instance excused from performing, but Hegner remained. Matters came to a head in December 1893 when “...Damrosch made a final appeal to the union in the name of art. One very candid member shouted ‘Art be damned; we are after money’. Then Damrosch resigned from the union”.²⁹

Now free of any personal obligation to abide by union rules, on 17 December Damrosch called the orchestra’s bluff. Knowing that, by refusing to play, members would be breaking their own union agreement and not only subjecting themselves to a fine which they could ill afford but risking dismissal from the orchestra, he pointedly included Hegner in the concert. The members acquiesced under sufferance, but the following evening “,,they determined to bring things to a climax, and when Damrosch took up his baton there was no response to the usual signal for the band to play”.³⁰ Moreover “Mr Brodsky knew what was coming and would not go on the platform with the orchestra that night”.³¹ The concert was abandoned and the audience sent home before any of the advertised programme could be given.

²⁷ “Damrosch’s orchestra strikes”. *Evening Star*. 18 December 1893, p.9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ “Violinist Brodsky withdraws”. *New York Tribune*: 18 December 1893, p.9.

In challenging his players through a deliberate act of provocation, Damrosch might well have had an ulterior motive; that of deflecting attention away from a major musical event taking place in the same concert hall the previous evening. For several days previously the New York press had devoted substantial column space to Dvořák's eagerly awaited new "American" symphony (op.95 in E minor *From the New World*). The *New York Tribune*, for example, had published a lengthy thematic guide in anticipation of its unveiling at an open rehearsal on 15 December and its official première the following evening.³² Several days before, it had informed readers that

...Especial interest attached to the second public rehearsal and concert of the Philharmonic Society next Friday afternoon and Saturday evening from the fact that at them Dr. Dvořák's new symphony, written under the influence of American scenes and studies, and entitled "From the New World" will have its first performances.³³

Further evidence that anticipation of the new symphony had generated a higher than usual level of interest among New York's concert-going public is revealed in a further article printed in the *New York Tribune* later in the month which noted that "...The fact that a very general interest had been aroused in the symphony by Dvořák is attested to by the unusually large number of tickets purchased by persons who do not attend the concerts of the society as a rule".³⁴

³² "Dr Dvořák's American Symphony". *New York Tribune*: 15 December 1893, p.7.

³³ "Activity in opera house and concert room". *New York Tribune*: 10 December 1893, p.24.

³⁴ "Musical comment. Dr. Dvořák's American compositions". *New York Tribune*: 24 December 1893, p.22.

The appearance as late as 24 December of the article from which the above extract is taken might argue for a continued local press coverage of the symphony in the weeks following its première. The comparative lack of coverage in the intervening period, however, suggests otherwise.³⁵ In contrast, the press could not get enough of the crisis which had erupted at the New York Symphony Orchestra concerts. In that sense Damrosch really had succeeded in marginalising the expected success of the *New World*. “Musicians all over the city were busy to-day discussing the strike at the Music Hall last night” commented the *Evening World* in all three of its editions the following day.³⁶ Its tone implies that the strike was not wholly unexpected and could engender serious consequences:

Unless matters are patched up between the Musical Mutual Protective Union and Conductor Walter Damrosch within a few days the chances are that the New York Symphony Orchestra will pass out of existence, for this year at least.³⁷

The *Evening World* was not alone in its opinion. Two days before the concert the *Sun* had carried a feature on the “stormy meeting” at which Damrosch had stood his ground against the union in his determination to include Hegner.³⁸ When it published a fuller review of the meeting the following day the stormy meeting had become, in Damrosch’s own words, an “informal talk with the members of my orchestra”.³⁹ The

³⁵ Reviews did appear in *The Sun* and *New York Tribune* on 17 December.

³⁶ “Union blames Damrosch”. *Evening World*: 18 December 1893, p.3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ “Damrosch gets out of it. The Musical Protective Union bars Hegner”. *The Sun*: 15 December 1893, p.3.

³⁹ “Damrosch to test it today, Whether the Symphony Orchestra will play with Hegner or not”. *The Sun*: 16 December 1893, p.5.

New York Tribune too conceded on its front page that “the fight between [Damrosch] and the Musical Union had come to a head”, at the same time noting that there had been “sympathetic applause for the conductor”.⁴⁰

The day after the debacle Damrosch sent all members of the orchestra a notification to the effect that their existing contract was terminated and giving them the option of accepting a revised one in which the orchestra’s concert season was shortened by six weeks. All accepted – except Brodsky, who expressed his views in a letter to the *New York Tribune*. As one for whom, like Hegner, the six month rule had been waived, he had to tread carefully; his argument was that it was the orchestra and not himself which had been most wronged.

Without being in a position to offer the musicians an assured assistance...he asks them to violate a law of the union which is equivalent to the suggestion that they resign from the union and become wholly dependent on him. Aside from him it would be utterly impossible for them to get an engagement... In case Mr. Damrosch should not raise the money necessary for next winter what would the musicians do?... Most of them have wives and children. Let the public think of these things before holding the orchestra responsible for the deeds of Mr. Damrosch and the union.⁴¹

For the implications of the reference to raising money for the following season one can turn to Anna Brodsky. Still referring to Damrosch only as “X”, she explains that

⁴⁰ “The orchestra quit work”. *New York Tribune*: 18 December 1893, p.1.

⁴¹ “The union and the orchestra. A letter from Mr. Adolph Brodsky”. *New York Tribune*: 20 December 1893, p.7.

he relied on his influential father-in-law to act as broker between the orchestra and a group of wealthy financial sponsors. When his father-in-law died, Damrosch saw reducing his players' contracts as a means of making good any subsequent financial losses. Anna implies that the strike was deliberately engineered to bring this about, commenting that "...the guarantors seemed to lose interest, some of them withdrew and the Orchestra became a personal concert of X's. In order to make it more lucrative he wished to alter his contract with members of the Orchestra... So he arranged an artificial strike in a most ingenious way..."⁴²

If this were the case, then it was a huge risk to take, and it cost Damrosch his leader. Attempting to avoid such an outcome he wrote to Brodsky "a very polite and cordial letter, begging him to renew his contract".⁴³ It was met only with "indignation" and has tellingly not survived.⁴⁴

In refusing to accept Damrosch's revised contract and in expressing his response in so public a manner, Brodsky was effectively committing professional suicide. His letter to the *New York Tribune* reads as a curious mixture of altruism, in taking the orchestra's part, and an appeal to his own professional integrity bordering on hubris. Instancing his own privileged position in respect of the union ruling, he reminds the reader that "my own artistic status is guaranteed with or without Mr. Damrosch".⁴⁵ Consciously or otherwise, Brodsky had engineered his own escape route from a

⁴² Brodsky, Anna, Op. cit., pp.193-194.

⁴³ Ibid., p.195.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ "The union and the orchestra. A letter from Mr. Adolph Brodsky", *New York Tribune*: 20 December 1893, p.7.

musical culture in which he had never felt completely at home and thereby opened up the possibility of a return to Europe. As Anna noted “And so at last A.B. was free”.⁴⁶

After its initial enthusiastic response, the press quickly lost interest in Brodsky’s actions. A review of one of Damrosch’s orchestral concerts early in the New Year mentions the loss of Brodsky, “an artist of world-wide fame”, adding that “Mr. Brodsky will be missed”.⁴⁷ It also corroborates Anna Brodsky’s claim that the strike was engineered in referring to Hegner as being “utilized as a handy agency for modifying the contracts between Mr. Damrosch and his men”.⁴⁸ Lack of press coverage also makes it difficult to form a clear picture of the extent to which Brodsky was able to maintain a performing career in New York. Anna Brodsky refers to several offers of alternative appointments “but he declined everything”, which argues for a wish not to remain in the USA, although adding the rider that Brodsky was obliged to fulfill other outstanding engagements.⁴⁹ Occasional press references shed light on Brodsky’s continuing involvement with chamber music. There is a certain irony in reference to a chamber concert in which he played in April 1894 and where he appeared alongside Anton Hegner and the pianist Xaver Scharwenka in the latter’s Piano Trio.⁵⁰ The Brodskys were certainly still in New York by the summer of 1894, and maintaining

⁴⁶ Brodsky, Anna. Op.cit., p.197.

⁴⁷ “The Symphony Society”. *New York Tribune*: 6 January 1894, p.6. Also RNCM AB/035.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., p.198.

⁵⁰ “Musical matters”. *New York Tribune*: 1 April 1894, p.24. That Brodsky and Hegner maintained some contact after the former’s departure from New York is evidenced by an autograph letter from Hegner to Brodsky dated 14 January 1906. Hegner sends Brodsky a copy of his op.13 String Quartet and asks if “you would do me a great favour in interesting yourself a little in same [sic], and possibly in a near [sic] future play it at a public concert”. RNCM/AB 415.

their apartment at 224 West Central Park, as revealed by an anecdote which was printed in the *Shenandoah Herald* in July.⁵¹ The lack of passenger lists for sailings from New York makes it difficult to establish precisely when the Brodskys left the USA. By the winter of that year they were settled in Berlin, where according to Anna Brodsky her husband was able to fulfill a number of engagements as a concert soloist.⁵² It was here that Brodsky received Hallé's invitation to move to Manchester.

It is as easy to say that this American interlude was an unfortunate one for Brodsky as it is to offer the truism that New York's loss was Manchester's gain. Other observations which can be drawn from it are of greater significance, not least for Brodsky's eventual move to Manchester. After all, he did not choose Manchester; it chose him, which suggests that Hallé's agency was informed by knowledge of the reputation which Brodsky had already forged at this stage in his career. That career was already a peripatetic one, but one which until the move to New York had been acted out in Europe. In that sense Brodsky's position as a European musician in the USA compensating for a sense of cultural displacement by maintaining allegiance to a Eurocentric musical canon emerges as a powerful theme, and one which Brodsky might only have become aware of as an outcome of the Damrosch debacle. Manchester offered on one level the chance to leave New York, but on another the opportunity to return, not simply to Europe, but to a European musical tradition in which he could once more feel at home. Like the psalmist, he had attempted to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land", only to find that its artistic values did not accord

⁵¹ "Fiddled in the ferry house". *Shenandoah Herald*: 13 July 1894, p.1.

⁵² Anna Brodsky mentions the move to Berlin but erroneously gives the year of departure from the USA as 1895. Max Graf's article cited above also mentions concert tours in Germany and Russia. "Dem dreijährigen Aufenthalt in Amerika folgten Konzertreisen durch Deutschland und Russland und schliesslich machte eine Berufung nach Manchester...". Graf, Max. Op. cit., p.8.

with his own.⁵³ His faith in those values, and his belief in their ultimate superiority over a musical scene driven largely by financial considerations, moreover, speaks of an idealism, but an idealism supported by principle. That Brodsky was prepared to stand apart from rank and file orchestral members in not accepting Damrosch's revised terms bears this out. Taken alongside the bold affirmation of his own artistic status in his apologia to the *New York Tribune*, it suggests an individual whose own self-perception placed him apart from his colleagues and who therefore had no option but to be guided by nobler artistic principles, even if the inevitable outcome in the short term was a form of cultural martyrdom. What on the surface appears to be merely an interlude proves, in fact, to have been a turning point.

⁵³ "For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us delight, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?". Psalm 137, vv.3-4 (AV).

Chapter 4

Brodsky in Manchester – Renewing links

One morning at breakfast I saw a letter waiting for my husband addressed in a handwriting quite strange to me... It was from Sir Charles Hallé and began with the following words: "I do not know if you have heard of me, but I know you very well by name and had the pleasure of hearing you play the Brahms Concerto in London in 1883"... He offered Brodsky the post of first teacher in the Royal Manchester College of Music and leader of his orchestra. Before A.B. had time to give a definite reply, a second letter arrived from Sir Charles, and then a third. A.B. was so pleased with them, that he felt more and more inclined to go to Manchester.¹

As with Damrosch, Hallé's interest in Brodsky was not primarily as a chamber musician but as an orchestral player. His determination to secure him as leader of his eponymous orchestra and Professor of Violin at his fledgling conservatoire was such that he was moved to act behind the backs of the RMCM Council.² On hearing that Brodsky's predecessor Willy Hess wished to terminate his contracts in both capacities in order to take up a post in Cologne, Hallé lost no time in writing to Brodsky, in the closing days of 1894, inviting him to succeed him. He revealed his intentions to the RMCM Council only once Brodsky, who was then in Berlin, had accepted the invitation.³ Hallé was duplicitous in the extreme, not only initiating dialogue with Brodsky without consulting the RMCM Council but, when he eventually broached the matter with them, claiming that Hess wished to retire on health

¹ Brodsky, Anna. *Recollections of a Russian home...*, pp.199-200.

² For a detailed account of Brodsky's appointment, see Thomason. Geoffrey "Hallé's other project – the RMCM". *Manchester Memoirs, being the memoirs and proceedings of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society*: vol.149 (2010-2011), pp.104-123.

³ Autograph correspondence held at RNCM AB/2/1.

grounds. Hallé urged Brodsky to “let me know quickly what you think about this matter, so that I may act officially”, adding that he wanted to be able to “propose” him as Hess’s successor and requesting that he reply to his private address rather than to the college. The terms offered for a teaching commitment were 15 hours per week for 36 weeks per year with a salary of 10,000 marks.⁴ As leader of the Hallé Orchestra he would receive £150 for a minimum of 30 concerts with £5 for each additional concert, and £95 for 12 annual concerts with the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, where Hess had also been leader.⁵ Brodsky’s tenure in that role was to last little more than a year; his eventual appointment as Hallé’s successor as Principal of the RMCM led him to step down the following year.⁶ Hallé also mentioned the possibility of private teaching for a fixed rate of 21 marks.⁷ Taken together, such commitments would appear to leave little time for any substantial involvement in chamber music outside the RMCM, where Brodsky’s contract included supervision of the Ensemble Class.

Anna Brodsky, whose own experience of the North West of England had been a disastrous sojourn in Liverpool as a young woman, attempted to dissuade him from going. “In fact we had never disagreed so strongly about anything as we did in this matter”, she recalled.⁸ More significantly, she was of the opinion that Manchester

⁴ c.£490, although Hallé might well have been attempting to express Brodsky’s salary of £500 as a round figure. The mixture of currencies is Hallé’s own. The exchange rate for the Goldmark was 20.43 to the pound sterling. Brodsky’s correspondence with Grieg, cited below, suggests that thinking in terms of 20 marks to the pound (i.e. a direct mark to shilling exchange rate) was common practice.

⁵ Autograph letters from Charles Hallé to Adolph Brodsky, 31 December 1894. RNCM AB/490 and 14 January 1895. RNCM AB/491.

⁶ An announcement in the *Liverpool Mercury* of Brodsky’s eventual appointment as Hallé’s successor as RMCM Principal refers to Brodsky as “the leader of the orchestra of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society”. “Day to day in Liverpool”. *Liverpool Mercury*: 9 November 1895, p.6. The same newspaper announced his stepping down in October 1896: “...the leader is now Mr. Risegari instead of Mr. Brodsky, the engagements of the latter taking him elsewhere”. “Liverpool Philharmonic Society”. *Liverpool Mercury*: 14 October 1895, p.6.

⁸ Brodsky, Anna. Op. cit., p.200.

...figured as a large smoky place where cotton was very cheap, and where people could not possibly care for music or have any idea what really serious music meant... [I] was sure that A.B. would never get an audience for the music he loved best – his string quartetts [sic].⁹

While it can be observed from her *Recollections of a Russian home* that Anna's writings concerning her husband could at times veer in the direction of hagiography, the trajectory of Brodsky's career prior to 1895 offers a good reason to believe that her observation on the music Brodsky "loved best" expressed a preference formed before, rather than by, experience of music in Manchester. Her comment articulates a fear that, in Manchester, her husband could never be truly happy if a career as an orchestral musician threatened to compromise his activity as a chamber musician. As Chapters 2 and 3 have shown, the professional positions which Brodsky had held in both Leipzig and New York had both offered scope for giving chamber concerts and in particular allowed him to develop his own role as a quartet leader.

Brodsky's acceptance of Hallé's private offer was made in a letter of 10 January. This has not survived, but is mentioned in Hallé's reply of four days later, in which he wrote to thank him for it.¹⁰ The official offer from the RMCM was made on the 25 January, on which day it was agreed in Council.¹¹ Brodsky's acceptance was formally minuted on 20 February.¹²

⁹ Ibid., p.201.

¹⁰ Autograph letter from Charles Hallé to Adolph Brodsky, 14 January 1895. RNCM AB/491.

¹¹ Autograph letter from Adolphus Ward to Adolph Brodsky, 25 January 1895. RNCM AB/489a. RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 25 January 1895. A separate copy of the resolution is extant at RNCM AB/489b.

¹² RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 20 February 1895. This was the first Council meeting since 25 January and therefore the earliest occasion on which Brodsky's appointment could be minuted. The *Appendices to Minutes of Council* include Brodsky's letter of acceptance, dated 28 January.

Brodsky's contract at the RMCM was to begin on 20 September. Hallé's hopes that he might arrive a lot earlier, expressed in a letter of 21 April, were not to be fulfilled.¹³ The RMCM Council meeting of 15 May heard from him that Brodsky, who was spending the summer in Cherson and Odessa, could be free prior to 20 September if necessary.¹⁴ What Hallé is unlikely to have known is that he was not the only person eager to secure Brodsky's services at this time. Moreover, his rival was specifically interested in Brodsky as a chamber musician.

On exactly the same day on which Hallé had first written to Brodsky, in the Michael-Palais in St. Petersburg a letter was drafted by Duke Georg of Mecklenburg concerning the possibility of Brodsky forming a string quartet for him. Although German by birth, the Duke was known in St. Petersburg society through his (morganatic) marriage to a Russian wife.¹⁵ More significantly, the letter implied that Brodsky himself had made an earlier move. "In reply to your letter of 25 inst.... I can be quite frank in telling you that the plans for my future string quartet still haven't reached a definitive form" and refers to "terms we discussed in St. Petersburg".¹⁶ The Duke expressed his keenness to form his own quartet and to have Brodsky lead it, but requested his patience for the time being as he could not see anything falling into place before the coming autumn at the earliest.

If Brodsky had been negotiating an opportunity which would have allowed him to dedicate himself to his "string quartetts", the Duke's letter, coming when it did, might

¹³ Autograph letter from Charles Hallé to Adolph Brodsky, 21 April 1895. RNCM AB/492.

¹⁴ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 15 May 1895.

¹⁵ Georg Alexander, Herzog von Mecklenburg (1859-1909). He owned a residence in Orienbaum / Lomontsov.

¹⁶ "In Beantwortung Ihres vom 25-ten ds....Schreibens will ich ganz offen sagen, dass meine Pläne in Betreff meines zukünftigen Quartetts noch keine ganz bestimmte Gestalt gewonnen haben... unter den zwischen uns in Petersburg erörterten Bedingungen". Typescript letter with autograph signature from Herzog Georg von Mecklenburg to Adolph Brodsky, 19/31 December 1894. RNCM AB/333.

well have placed him in something of an awkward position. After his unexpected departure from New York, an offer of a secure post must have been welcome. Hallé was offering the greater security, but on unfamiliar territory and with no genuine guarantee of a substantial involvement in chamber music. Duke Georg offered the possibility of developing his career as a quartet leader, and in more familiar surroundings, but it remained just that, a possibility. If in the end Brodsky opted for security, it was by no means the end of the Duke's attempts to persuade him otherwise. When he wrote again in May, he was under the impression that Brodsky had already arrived in Manchester, since he began by asking how he liked it there, before enquiring whether he would still be interested in leading his quartet in the coming winter season, for a fee of 5,000 roubles, and speculating that Brodsky's name alone might bring in an income to compare with what he would receive in Manchester.¹⁷ In the mid-1890s 5,000 roubles were equivalent to £500, so the Duke's offer was comparable to Hallé's.

The tone of the Duke's letter in June implies that Brodsky was at least tempted. "I was delighted to see from your letter that even under circumstances you were still inclined to take up my offer".¹⁸ Refusing to be put off by Brodsky's coming to Manchester, he proposed to send him in January 1896 a formal offer for a season in 1897 with rehearsals in the summer of 1896. As an interim measure he would have to make do for the coming winter with engaging a younger quartet. The new invitation was duly sent, repeating the offer of 5,000 roubles, but as the Duke's letter mentions, the death of Charles Hallé on 25 October 1895 had now changed

¹⁷ Autograph letter from Herzog Georg von Mecklenburg to Adolph Brodsky, 13 May 1895. RNCM AB/334.

¹⁸ "Sehr gefreut hat es mich, dennoch aus diesem Schreiben zu ersehen, dass Sie unter Umständen doch geneigt sein würden meine Offerte anzunehmen". Typescript letter with autograph signature from Herzog Georg von Mecklenburg to Adolph Brodsky, 18 June 1895. AB/335.

Brotsky's circumstances to the point where it was likely that he would finally decline his offer.¹⁹

On 10 September the *Manchester Guardian* announced Brodsky's appointment with the laconic notice "New Professor of the Violin and Conductor of the Orchestra: Mr. Adolph Brodsky".²⁰ As a newcomer to Manchester, Brodsky was in a somewhat different position from that in which the newly arrived Hallé had found himself some half a century previously, although there is an unconscious link in that both were to prove successful chamber musicians despite having envisaged Manchester as offering an involvement predominantly with orchestral music. Hallé's own musical circle had by now become increasingly less reliant on contacts forged outside Britain, and certainly outside Manchester, but he was initially fortunate in being able to find in his adopted city a community of concertgoers who not only shared his nationality and cultural preferences but who in many cases had the financial means to support his endeavours.

Brought to Manchester through Hallé's agency, Brodsky's position was in some respects quite different, and not simply in that he had no prior contacts in the city. This is not because Manchester lacked a substantial community of Russian émigrés. Indeed, census figures show that by 1901 Manchester followed the national pattern in actually having considerably more Russians living there than it had Germans: 8,094 Russians as against 1,577 Germans. The Russian community included Polish nationals, but even accounting for 1,233 Austrians and 125 Swiss, German-speakers were still far fewer in number. The crucial difference is that Manchester's Russians and Poles were largely working class and therefore not likely to patronise the city's

¹⁹ Typescript letter with autograph signature from Herzog Georg von Mecklenburg to Adolph Brodsky, 21 December 1895 / 2 January 1896. AB/336.

²⁰ *Manchester Guardian*. 10 September 1895, p.1.

concert life as their more affluent German counterparts might. Alien registration records for Manchester itself have been destroyed, but those for Salford have survived and show a large influx of Russians and Poles between 1880 and 1900, many of them settling in the predominantly working class Jewish enclaves of Broughton and Cheetham Hill. The fact that a substantial number of them have marked their entry in the register with an “X” in lieu of a signature attests to a low level of education.

Hallé was actually away touring in South Africa when Brodsky arrived, and returned on 29 September for the start of the new term. The previous day he had written to his Registrar, Stanley Withers “...I have written to Brodsky that I shall arrive tomorrow at 10pm and hope to see him at the college on Monday. I suppose you have fixed a time for the examination of the violin candidates...”²¹

At Hallé’s request it came within Brodsky’s remit to arrange a series of concerts of chamber music in the college; these were to be free to violin students and also, at Hallé’s discretion, to others. Authorising this had been one of Hallé’s last acts as Principal; the RCMC *Minutes of Council* for 16 October 1895 note that it was

...Resolved – that on the recommendation of the Principal authority be given to Mr. Brodsky to arrange for a series of chamber music concerts during the coming winter to be given in the Hall of the College, with free admission to all students of the violin and such other students as the Principal may approve,

²¹ Autograph letter from Charles Hallé to Stanley Withers, 28 September 1895. RNCM A/1. However, on 30 July Hallé had written to his son “We leave Cape Town on September 11, and will be in London on the 27th. I can therefore be in Manchester on the 28th, two days before I am wanted”. Quoted in Hallé, Charles E. and Marie, eds. *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé, being an autobiography (1819-1860) with correspondence and diaries*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896, p.397.

and under such conditions as may approve themselves to Committee and to the Principal.²²

Prior to Brodsky's appointment, the principal platform for chamber music performances by students were the "Monthly Musical Evenings" or "Open Practices". Concert programmes show that, although they contain a large number of violin or 'cello duos with piano among an abundance of piano solos, they include few chamber works for more than two instruments. A quartet by Dittersdorf was played in October 1894, a rare example of a whole work being performed. A single movement from Mozart's Quartet, K.387 was given in February 1895.²³ Movements from both Mozart piano quartets appear, again in October 1894 and February 1895, and from the String Quintet, K.515 in April 1895.²⁴ More ambitiously, the first movement (all the above examples are opening movements) from Mendelssohn's Octet was performed in an Annual Public Examination concert in July 1895.²⁵ These remain, however, isolated examples. Even the programme for March 1895, on which a pencilled annotation reveals that "Joachim was present!" failed to seize the opportunity to showcase anything beyond the usual parade of solos and duos, in which a movement from Grieg's Violin Sonata, op.45 and the Wieniawski *Légende* stand out from a host of minor works by *inter alia* Vieuxtemps, Maurer and Laub.

²² RCMC *Minutes of Council*, 16 October 1895. The student registers from this period list violinists and 'cellists but no students whose principal study was the viola. The list of tutors included in the RCMC *Minutes of Council* for 18 April 1893 lists Simon Speelman as a teacher of violin at 7/6 (37½p) per hour as required. Registers of teachers' hours of employment listed in the RCMC *Appendices to Minutes of Council 1893-1914* show that in this early period Speelman was teaching on average 3-4 hours per week, as opposed to 4-5 for Carl Fuchs. Christopher Rawdon Briggs was teaching on average between 4-7 hours.

²³ RNCM RCMC E/1/1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

As director of the Ensemble Class, Brodsky was quick to introduce changes in repertoire which reflected his own musical preferences. Although students' Open Practices were still confined to short pieces and single movements, Brodsky programmed selections from Schumann's Piano Quintet and Beethoven's Quartet, op.18 no.5 as early as November 1895.²⁶ In his first five years as Principal he coached students in all three Beethoven *Rasumovsky* quartets as well as the String Quintet, op.29, which alone received four performances between 1896 and 1898, albeit with only the first movement being performed on each occasion.²⁷ Music by Mendelssohn and Brahms, including the latter's String Quintet, op.111, also figures prominently. The fact that this repertoire features less in programmes after the turn of the century might indicate that Brodsky was initially being over-ambitious in his choices. The range of composers represented, however, remains small and heavily indebted to the Austro-German canon, although Brodsky was later to introduce music by Tchaikovsky.²⁸ In contrast, ensembles coached by the 'cellist Carl Fuchs offered less familiar repertoire by, inter alia, Rheinberger, Raff, Goldmark, Daviodov, Goetz and Stanford. Given Fuchs's participation in Henry Rensburg's Liverpool chamber concerts, it is likely that as a teacher he was able to draw on the wide range of repertoire he had played there.

Any chance that RMCM chamber concerts might have provided for a fruitful collaboration between Brodsky and Hallé were however cut short by the latter's untimely death on 25 October. The RMCM Council resolved on 30 October "...to

²⁶ RNCM /E/1/1.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ A movement from the op.22 quartet was played in March 1902. RNCM/E/1/2.

interview Mr. Brodsky with a view to his appointment as Principal of the College in the first instance for the remainder of the present Session...".²⁹

Brodsky's appointment as Hallé's successor was confirmed on 6 November.³⁰ It was initially envisaged as being subject to a three-year contract, but Brodsky was to hold the position until his death in 1929. His salary was now increased from £500 to £800 per year – still less than the £1,000 which Hallé had awarded himself.³¹ Thus began a new chapter in the history of Manchester's music-making.

Brodsky was now in a position which he had never envisaged, one which added a new layer of unpredictability to that which confronted him on arrival in an unfamiliar city. If the experience with Damrosch had led to a deepening awareness of his own artistic principles, as Principal of the RMCM he now had to face the challenge of realising his potential as a leader while maintaining his existing roles of performer and pedagogue. New York had already tested his ability to react to an unforeseen crisis, and now he was being placed in a similar position. The suddenness of Hallé's death meant that Brodsky found himself deputising for his predecessor straight away, which meant that some of his earliest appearances before Manchester audiences reprised the role of conductor which he had occasionally undertaken during his earlier career in Russia, taking over the baton for concerts that had already been arranged and advertised. Some of the facts can be deduced from contemporary concert programmes or press announcements, the latter by no means restricted to local newspapers and thus indicative of the significance of Hallé's death at national level. The *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, for example, reported that:

²⁹ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 30 October 1895.

³⁰ Minutes of the sub-committee appointed to interview Brodsky, chaired by Gustav Behrens.

³¹ The initial terms were proposed by the RMCM Registrar, Stanley Withers, in his contract of 25 January 1895. "£500 per annum for 15 hours tuition per week, the appointment to date from Sep. 20 1895". RMCM *Appendices to Minutes of Council 1893-1914*.

The 'Daily News' states that "arrangements were hastily made for the first of the reorganised Gentlemen's Concerts, which Sir Charles had undertaken to direct last night, to be conducted by his deputy, M. Brodsky, who will also direct the first of the Hallé Subscription Concerts at Manchester on Thursday."³²

The *Glasgow Herald* also noted that Hallé had anticipated the eventuality of his being unavailable, and that Brodsky was to some extent prepared for it.

Sir Charles Hallé was to have conducted the first of the Gentlemen's Concerts at Manchester on Monday, and the duty will now be undertaken by Mr. Brodsky, whom the veteran had already nominated as his deputy, in case any accident should ever prevent his appearance.³³

On 28 October, three days after Hallé's death, Brodsky conducted the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concerts in a concert which became a *de facto* memorial one. It opened with the *Dead march* from Handel's *Saul* as a prelude to the otherwise pre-arranged programme.³⁴ This was not, however, the first occasion on which he had to step into Hallé's shoes at short notice, for, as he mentioned in the first of several letters to Grieg written in the autumn of 1895, "...the concerts had to go on, even... in

³² *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*: 29 October 1895, p.8.

³³ *Glasgow Herald*: 28 October 1895, p.4.

³⁴ MCL E000295787. The concert otherwise contained Mendelssohn's *Scotch* symphony, Beethoven's Leonore no.3 overture and the overture to Weber's *Der Freischütz*, Fanny Davies in Schumann's Piano Concerto and solos by Brahms and Rubinstein. In addition a Miss Macintyre sang arias by Wagner, Weckerlin and Massenet. The reverse of the programme also notes Brodsky's forthcoming appearance as violin soloist on 2 December. The programme for this has not survived. The *Liverpool Mercury* for 30 December 1895 noted that the Liverpool Philharmonic Society's concert season would recommence on 7 January and that "On this occasion Lady Hallé will appear here for the first time since the sad event which bereft her of a devoted husband... This concert will be followed on the 11th by an extra concert of the Orchestral Society at the Philharmonic Hall. In addition to performance by that admirable organisation, Mr. A. Brodsky will play violin solos...". *Liverpool Mercury*, 14975: 30 December 1895, p.6.

Bradford on the very day he died”.³⁵ Brodsky’s letter otherwise speculates on possible candidates for Hallé’s successor. Grieg had written to him proposing that consideration be given to Hermann Kretzschmar.³⁶ Brodsky in turn informed him that the name of Hans Richter was already being mentioned.³⁷

The correspondence with Grieg, as well as that with Ferruccio Busoni, can be seen in retrospect as serving a dual purpose. On one level it provides valuable insights into Brodsky’s situation in these early Manchester years and his reaction to the unforeseen circumstances in which he found himself. On another it suggests a deeper desire to retain friendships forged in Leipzig, in turn acting as a shield against any potential feelings of isolation on Brodsky’s part. In the case of Grieg and Busoni, this was further manifested in a wish to experience their physical presence in Manchester. For those members of his circle for whom this was no longer possible – not least Tchaikovsky – keeping their memory alive through the conscious promotion of their music to Manchester audiences, as the next chapter will detail, would become a recurrent trope in Brodsky’s own chamber concerts.

Grieg in Manchester

Once settled in Manchester, Brodsky wasted little time in renewing his correspondence with Grieg. By the end of 1895, their letters reveal that Brodsky was already keen to make plans to welcome the composer to Manchester, not least to promote Grieg’s violin sonatas in concert. The sonatas were not unknown in Manchester, and some had, as mentioned above, featured in Open Practices at the

³⁵ “...die Concerte lass gehen sollten, sogar ... in Bradford am selben Tage, in dem er gestorben ist.” Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edvard Grieg, 10 November 1895. Bergen: Griegsamlingen 0237062.

³⁶ Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 6 November 1895. RNCM AB/578.

³⁷ Bergen: Griegsamlingen 0237062.

RMCM. These were works which Brodsky had played with Grieg in Leipzig, where moreover they had given the première of the Sonata, op.45.³⁸ Besides, Grieg would be no newcomer to Manchester, having visited in February 1889 when Hallé had persuaded him and his wife Nina to appear at one of his concerts. Grieg conducted several of his pieces including the Piano Concerto with Hallé as soloist and Nina sang some of her husband's songs which he accompanied.³⁹ For Brodsky, having Grieg back in Manchester would have been a tangible sign that both a friendship and an artistic relationship formed in the Leipzig period could not only survive across international borders but could be harnessed for the benefit of Manchester's audiences. In contrast to Grieg's earlier visit, this one was intended to focus as much on his chamber music as on his orchestral and vocal works.

Grieg had intimated to Brodsky that if he were to come to England in the early part of 1896, then he would be happy to conduct in Manchester if Brodsky were there.⁴⁰ Writing in reply, Brodsky was keen not merely that the composer should come to Manchester, but that a musician of Grieg's stature should be suitably remunerated. The matter lay in the hands of the agent J. Aikman Forsyth, whose prevarication over the matter proved a source of frustration to Brodsky. "He kept me waiting and eventually came up with a figure of around £35. 700 Mark? You wouldn't get a Grieg at that price".⁴¹ His greater concern, however, was that he and Grieg should perform the Violin sonatas together.

³⁸ In addition to the RMCM performance of part of the op.45 Sonata mentioned above, two movements from the op.8 had been played in a student concert in July 1894. RNCM RMCM E/1/1.

³⁹ Hallé had previously introduced the Piano concerto to Manchester in 1876.

⁴⁰ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edvard Grieg. Bergen: Griegsamlingen 0237063.

⁴¹ "Er hat mich lange warten lassen und hat sich endlich zu der Summe von £35 aufgepasst. 700 Mark? Dafür bekommt man doch keinen Grieg." Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edvard Grieg, 2 December 1895. Bergen: Griegsamlingen 0237063.

I've already thought about whether you wouldn't like to play your 3 sonatas with me in an extra concert. What fee would I have to pay you in addition to the above-mentioned £35 to round up the fee for your coming?... I want so much to have you here.⁴²

He was insistent too that Grieg should bring his wife, even if she no longer sang professionally.

In this instance the proposed English tour did not take place. Grieg hinted in his reply to Brodsky's letter that the precarious state of his health might lead to its being cancelled, and in a letter written on Christmas Day he confirmed it.⁴³ His promise to write more violin pieces if Brodsky could restore him to health is probably more indicative of the somewhat dry sense of humour which informs his letters, rather than of any projects on which he was engaged. Nevertheless, the letter mentions one project which was an actuality, albeit one which was never to be realised in full. Grieg wryly comments that "the accursed string quartet remains like old Norwegian cheese, unfinished".⁴⁴ This is a reference to the F major Quartet to which, initially as a torso and subsequently in Julius Röntgen's reconstruction, the Brodsky Quartet was eventually to accord a posthumous Manchester première. That it was intended for Brodsky is confirmed by Grieg's subsequent comment that it would be "adorned with your name".⁴⁵ The Manchester performances of this work are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁴² "Ich habe schon gedacht, ob Sie nicht Ihren 3 Sonaten mit mir spielen wollten als extra-Concert. Was müsste ich Ihnen zahlen um mit den oben genannten £35 die Summe voll zu machen für Ihr Kommen? ... Ich möchte Sie gern hier haben". Ibid.

⁴³ Autograph letters from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 9 December 1895 and 25 December 1895. RNCM AB/580 and 581.

⁴⁴ "...das verfluchte Streichquartett, welches wie alter norwegischer Käse da liegt...". Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 25 December 1895. RNCM AB/581.

⁴⁵ "... mit Ihrem Namen geschmückt wird". Ibid.

Edvard and Nina Grieg did eventually come to Manchester, but not until 1897, and even then after a certain amount of prevarication and postponement. Grieg proposed a visit centered around a concert on 9 November, wryly adding the proviso that “during our stay you send the damn ‘Fog’ packing!”⁴⁶ The concert was to be part of a national tour featuring the composer and the soprano Medora Henson. An initial setback was Nina Grieg’s recent illness, causing Edvard to arrive in the UK alone, while his wife joined him at a later date.⁴⁷ A second was an attack of “something in my limbs which I can only take to be influenza” shortly after his arrival, one result of which was that the Manchester concert was postponed until 16 November.⁴⁸ He hoped thereby to hear the concert to be given by the Brodsky Quartet the following day, not least because Busoni would be making his Manchester debut and Grieg was looking forward to seeing him again.⁴⁹ This concert was to feature Busoni in Beethoven’s Piano Trio, op.71 no.1, Brahms’s String Sextet, op.36 and Grieg’s own Quartet, op.27. Grieg’s own concert was rescheduled in good time for it to be advertised. On 2 November the *Manchester Courier* carried notice of

...a Grand Evening Concert in the Free-Trade Hall, on Tuesday, November 16, at which Mr. Edvard Grieg, the famous Norwegian Composer and pianist will appear. The programme will consist entirely of works by Grieg...

and added that

⁴⁶ “...dass Sie während unserer Manchester Augenthalt den verfluchten “Fog” Reisepass geben!” Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 3 September 1897. RNCM AB/583.

⁴⁷ Nina had suffered a kidney infection was unable to travel on medical advice. Mentioned in an autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Anna Brodsky, 22 October 1887. RNCM AB/584.

⁴⁸ “Hier sitze ich nun mit Etwas in den Gliedern, dass ich nur Influenza nennen kann.” Autograph letter from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 26 October 1897. RNCM AB/585.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

...the musical public are reminded that it is now several years since Mr. Edvard Grieg played in Manchester, and that this will positively be his only appearance this season.⁵⁰

In the end it was not to be; Grieg's convalescence took longer than expected and the concert was once more rescheduled, this time for 24 November. The postponement must have been known at least by 13 November as on that date the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* printed a notice of the concert with the revised date.⁵¹ Grieg, writing from his lodgings in Clapham Common, informed Brodsky that he would arrive on the day of the concert, adding that he expected a warm room in Brodsky's house, a practice piano, an underdone steak at 4pm before the concert and a glass of claret and some cold chicken afterwards!⁵²

Ironically, Grieg's eventual appearance in Manchester was on quite different terms from those which Brodsky had initially envisaged. Not the least departure from his original proposal was that the violinist was not Brodsky himself but Johannes Wolff, who had been contracted to take part in the tour. Furthermore, he played only the C minor Sonata, op.45 and a movement from the F major, op.8. The rest of the programme consisted of songs performed by Medora Henson and solo piano pieces played by Grieg himself. Given the late rescheduling of the concert, there was a good audience. The *Manchester Evening News* commented on the "capital house", and that "Dr. Grieg is himself such an interesting character that he alone will always be sure of a good audience".⁵³ The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General*

⁵⁰ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 2 November 1897, p.1.

⁵¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 13 November 1897, p.1.

⁵² Autograph postcards from Edvard Grieg to Adolph Brodsky, 15 November 1897 and 21 November 1897. RNCM AB/586 and 587.

⁵³ *Manchester Evening News*: 25 November 1897, p.5.

Advertiser however noted that “there were some vacant seats”.⁵⁴ The latter also pointed out a possible conflict of interest in that Grieg’s concert took place on the same day that Eugen d’Albert gave an afternoon recital in the Gentlemen’s Concert Hall, and that d’Albert “displayed his consummate powers as a pianist... before a throng composed almost entirely of ladies”.⁵⁵ Both reviewers drew attention to Grieg’s novel way of bringing the evening to a close after several encores. As the *Manchester Evening News* put it:

The applause was long and loud at the end, but Dr. Grieg has learned how to politely repel the persistence of the hungry section of the audience. During his present tour he makes a practice of returning to the platform hat and overcoat in hand.⁵⁶

After leaving Manchester on 26 November, the Griegs travelled to London via Birmingham.⁵⁷ After a concert tour of England and Scotland, they returned to Manchester on 17 December, where they spent two days with the Brodskys before leaving for London.⁵⁸ It was during this second visit that Grieg presented Brodsky with an autograph copy of the violin part of the C minor Sonata, inscribing it with the dedication:

I hereby testify that this part was not as it happens written by Brodsky but by his friend and huge admirer Edvard Grieg. Manchester 19/12/97⁵⁹

⁵⁴ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 25 November 1897, p.8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Manchester Evening News*: 25 November 1897, p.5.

⁵⁷ C.f. Carley, Lionel. *Edvard Grieg in England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006, p.269.

⁵⁹ Ich bezeuge hiermit dass:/ Dieses Stimme is nicht etwa von / Brodsky geschrieben, sondern von seinem / Freund und kolossal Verehrer / Edvard Grieg/ Manchester 19/12/97. RNCM AB/1/11. The importance of this MS as a primary source was first noted by Rolf Erdahl in his dissertation “Edvard Grieg’s sonatas for stringed instruments and piano: performance implications of the primary source materials”. DMA: The Peabody Institute of the John

Although this was Grieg's last visit to Manchester, it was not his last meeting with Brodsky. The Brodskys visited the Griegs in Bergen in the summer of 1906. That a further meeting was envisaged – whether in Manchester or Bergen – is hinted at in one of the last letters from Grieg, written on New Year's Eve, 1906. Expressing his good wishes for the coming year, Grieg added "May we see each other in 1907!".⁶⁰

This was not to be. One of the most poignant items in the Brodsky-Grieg correspondence at the RNCM is the telegram sent by Nina Grieg on 4 September 1907, informing the Brodskys that "After few days illness Edvard died quietly this night".⁶¹

Nina herself made several subsequent visits to Manchester. Although she no longer sang professionally, she performed privately for members of the RMCM Club, the college's alumni association, of which Grieg had been the first honorary patron. Until her own death in 1935 she maintained a voluminous correspondence with Anna Brodsky until Anna's death in 1929 and thereafter with Anna's sister Olga Picard née Skadovsky. This correspondence itself is worthy of future investigation.

Busoni in Manchester

In contrast to Grieg, Busoni made several trips to Manchester subsequent to Brodsky's arrival there. His signature appears in the RMCM *Visitors' Book* five times

Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1994. More recently it has been used in the preparation of a new Henle Urtext edition of the sonata (2003).

⁶⁰ *Möchten wir uns im 1907 wiedersehen!* Autograph letter from Edward Grieg to Adolph and Anna Brodsky, 31 December 1906. RNCM AB/603.

⁶¹ RNCM AB/833. The telegram is in English and was received at Denmark Road Post Office at 10.34am. It is addressed to Professor Brodsky, Musical College, Manchester.

between 1897 and 1909.⁶² Brodsky was also fortunate in being able to take advantage of Busoni's concert tours in the UK, often in the late autumn, to facilitate his appearance in several of Brodsky's own concerts. Consequently much of the correspondence between Busoni and the Brodskys either anticipates or comments on the reactions of both parties to the former's visits to Manchester and the opportunities they afforded for renewing their friendship.

It is, however, testament to Brodsky's wish to move beyond Busoni's occasional visits and to forge a more lasting link between the composer and Manchester that his initial plans for bringing Busoni to the city were far more ambitious than any he might have conceived for Grieg. Furthermore, in being conducted through private correspondence rather than via more official channels, they echo the circumstances of Brodsky's own initial appointment by Hallé.

Hallé had combined the roles of Principal of the RMCM and its chief Professor of Piano. Succeeding him in the former capacity still left Brodsky with the responsibility of replacing him in the latter. Although any mention of it is absent from the RMCM *Minutes of Council*, letters which passed between Brodsky and Busoni indicate that Brodsky's first thought was to consider Busoni himself as a possible candidate and that he had got at least as far as discussing the matter informally with his colleagues. The earliest of Brodsky's letters to Busoni to survive from the Manchester period suggests that his approach was already *in media res*.

I told my wife beforehand that you wouldn't take up the position in Manchester, otherwise I would have turned to you earlier myself... Gustav Dehn, one of our directors, is a lovely chap and enjoys and understands good music to a high level. He is willing to try to persuade you and tell you lots of good things about Manchester, which I as an honourable chap can only

⁶² RNCM RMCM/C/7. Busoni also visited Manchester, for the last time, in 1921.

corroborate. The conductor's post has already been offered to Frederick H. Cowen, the English composer.⁶³ But we can offer you 10,000 Marks for 36 weeks, at 12 hours a week...

I also think England would be a great place for you to be. Travelling distances are very short, and you could perform all over without abandoning your teaching hours, and even after most of the out of town concerts you could be home the same evening. Liverpool for instance can be reached by rail from Manchester in only three-quarters of an hour...⁶⁴

Brodsky's letter also indicates that Busoni had made his own suggestion for a Professor of Piano in proposing the name of William Dayas. The American-born Dayas, who in the mid-1880s had been a pupil of Liszt, had spent most his career in Europe and was a noted teacher as well as performer. Brodsky, however, initially considered him too lightweight in comparison with Busoni.

As for Dayas, he is so little known here compared to you, but the difference is that here you would immediately have the impact of a big name, which I doubt would be the case with Mr. Dayas, however capable a pianist he might be...

⁶³ Cowen had been appointed to succeed Hallé as conductor of the Gentlemen's Concerts, but his tenure was short-lived and he was quickly replaced by Hans Richter. According to Allis "Cowen's contract was terminated, and the treatment brought an angry letter from the Principal of the Guildhall School of Music... who thought the treatment of Cowen to be shameful and probably the result of the Teutonic influence in Manchester." Allis, Wilfred. "The Gentlemen's Concerts: Manchester 1777-1920", p.116. Brodsky refers to Cowen's replacement by Richter in a letter to Busoni of 3 November 1898. Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin: SPK) Mus NL F Busoni B II 1062.

⁶⁴ "Ich habe es meiner Frau im Voraus gesagt, dass Sie die Stellung in Manchester nicht annehmen, sonst hätte ich mich persönlich schon früher an Sie gewendet... Gustav Dehn, einer unserer Direktoren, ist ein liebenswürdige Mensch und liebt und versteht gute Musik in hohen Grade. Er will es versuchen Sie zu überreden und will Ihnen viel Gütes über Manchester erzählen, was ich als ehrliche Mensch nur bestätigen kann. Die Dirigentstelle ist schon vergeben and Frederic H. Cowen den englischen Komponist. Aber 10,000 Mark für 36 Wochen, 12 Stunden wöchentlich, könnten wir Ihnen bieten... Ich glaube aber in England wäre ein grosses Feld für Sie. Die Reisen sind sehr kurz und Sie könnten überall spielen ohne Ihre Stunden zu vernachlässigen, ja sogar meistens nach den Concerte auswärts, wieder am selben Abend nach Hause kommen. Liverpool is z.B. nur ¾ Stunden von Manchester mit der Bahn zu erreichen...". Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 20 May 1896. Berlin: SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1059.

Here we've heard the greatest pianists, which is merely all to the good in your case, while it would certainly harm Dayas.⁶⁵

Brodsky obviously had second thoughts, as it was indeed Dayas whom he eventually appointed.⁶⁶ Busoni's reply the following month, written some four weeks before Dayas's acceptance of Brodsky's offer, made light of his role in the process. "When I suggested Dayas, I was merely trying to thank you, since I knew this would be of more service to you than mere words".⁶⁷ Brodsky's approach to Dayas was not mentioned in Council until the end of June, his approach to Busoni not at all.⁶⁸

Although he failed to bring off this particular *coup* for his adopted city, Brodsky was at least able to welcome Busoni to Manchester the following year, by which time Brodsky had already established his own series of Brodsky Quartet Concerts. Busoni made his Manchester debut in one such concert on 17 November 1897, in a performance of Beethoven's *Ghost* Trio, op.70 no.2. This was the concert which Brodsky hoped Grieg would be able to attend and in which he had chosen to perform Grieg's String Quartet, op.27. Only the postponement of Grieg's own visit prevented Brodsky from realising what must have been his ulterior motive in planning the

⁶⁵ "Was Dayas anbelangt, so kennt man ihn hier ebenso wenig, wie man Sie kennt, aber der Unterschied ist, dass Sie hier mit einem Schlage einer grossen Namen hätte, gleich nach Ihren Auftreten, was ich bei Herrn Dayas bezweifle, so tüchtig er als Pianist sein mag. Mann hat hier die grössten Pianisten gehört, was Ihnen blos zu Gute kommen wurde, während es Dayas entschiede schadet". Ibid.

⁶⁶ Dayas held the post until his early death in 1903. He was succeeded in 1904 by Wilhelm Backhaus, who resigned the post the following year and was succeeded by Egon Petri, himself a pupil of Busoni.

⁶⁷ "Als ich Ihnen Herr Dayas empfahl, war ich bemüht Ihnen durch mehr als blosser Worte zu danken, den ich wüsste, dass Ihnen damit ein Dienst geleistet würde". Autograph letter, Ferruccio Busoni to Adolph Brodsky, 4 June 1896. RNCM AB/633.

⁶⁸ "The Principal stated that he proposed to enter into similar negotiations with Mr. William Dayas, of Cologne, with a view to his appointment as Principal Professor of the Pianoforte...". RNCM *Minutes of Council*, 24 June 1896. The *Minutes* of 8 July 1896 record his acceptance.

concert: that it should function as both a musical and personal reunion with his colleagues.

As was the case with Grieg, Brodsky looked forward to an opportunity for him and Busoni to play the latter's music together. In his next surviving letter to Busoni, written in August 1898, he speculated on the possibility of their performing the second Violin Sonata which Busoni had begun in May of that year.

It would be nice if we could play your sonata, but otherwise whatever else you might prefer to play. You are such a harsh father to your first sonata, which I have so taken to my heart and which will always remain a true friend to me.⁶⁹

The following month he wrote again, regretting his inability to visit Busoni in Berlin but renewing his anticipation of the new sonata.

As you speak so highly of your "second" I'd readily include it in my programme if you wanted to play it in Manchester. Just send me a copy by the end of September to 41 Acomb St. Manchester, from which I can play through it with Dayas.⁷⁰

The new sonata, however, was not finished by then. Brodsky revived the first sonata in December 1899, with Dayas as pianist. Brodsky might have been hoping for Busoni himself as a duet partner. In a letter to Anna Brodsky in July 1899 the composer regretted that "I'm sorry for my refusal in June; I still hope to hear Adolph

⁶⁹ "Es wäre schön wenn wir deine Sonate spiele könnten, sonst aber auch was immer du gerne spielen wolltest. Du bist ja ein solcher Rabenvater für deine erste Sonate die ich so in mein Herz geschlossen habe und der ich immer immr ein treue Freund blieben werde." Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 4 August 1898. Berlin: SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1060.

⁷⁰ "Da du deine "Zweite" zu herausstreichst so nehme ich Sie ohne Weiteres in mein Programm auf, wen Du Sie spielen willst. Nur bitte schicke mir Ende Sept. ein Exemplar nach 41 Acomb St. Manchester, damit ich Sie mut Dayas durchspielen kann. Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 5 September 1898. Berlin; SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1061.

play my sonata, which I shall bring with me”.⁷¹ Precisely which sonata he was referring to is unclear, as the second was not finished until 1900. Busoni was touring in the UK in November 1899 and gave a concert with Brodsky in Bradford on 24 November.⁷² He was certainly in Manchester on 19 November, as his signature in the RNCM *Visitors' Book* bears that date, and again on 23 November, on which day he wrote to his wife from Manchester giving a report of his recital at London's St. James's Hall the previous day.⁷³ Three days after his Bradford concert he gave a solo recital in Manchester, billed as “His last appearance in Manchester this season”.⁷⁴

Brodsky was eventually to give the Manchester première of Busoni's second Violin Sonata, op.36a – again with Dayas – during his 1901-1902 season.⁷⁵ The performance took on a note of poignancy, as Busoni had dedicated it to the memory of their mutual friend Nováček, who had died in 1900. Busoni, barely more than a month older than Nováček, was deeply touched by the latter's death at the age of only thirty-three, news of which had reached him at the same time as the birth of his son. He wrote of his mixed feelings to the Brodskys who were among the few who, like him, were close to Nováček.

⁷¹ “Ich bedauerte schmerzlich meine Absage im Juni, aber hoffe ich noch, meine Violinesonate zu hören, die ich mit bringen werde...”. Autograph letter from Ferruccio Busoni to Anna Brodsky, 17 July 1898. RNCM AB 634. The letter containing Busoni's refusal appears not to have survived.

⁷² “Music in Yorkshire”. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*. Vol. 39, No. 659 (Jan. 1, 1898), pp.45-46.

⁷³ “Il mio recital di ieri è andato splendidamente. Ho dato tutto quanto sta in me”. <http://www.rodoni.ch/busoni/bibliotechina/lettereagerdaEN/gerdaITA1.html> (Acc. 3 February 2015).

⁷⁴ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 21 November 1899, p.1.

⁷⁵ 19 February 1902. The concert also included Haydn's quartet op.20 no.4 and Beethoven's *Harp* quartet, op.74.

When one's heart is full, one turns to one's loved ones to share one's feelings. That is the beauty and the hardship of friendship, but one has to share it...

Today, 1 February, I was overjoyed that Gerda was easily delivered of a healthy boy...

It is difficult and hard to say it, but it must be said. Our dear Nováček is no more... Two telegrams, one from Boston and one from New York, confirm this incredible situation...

Dear friends, in these few days I have become years older. When one is touched so closely by birth and death, one believes that some mysterious mechanism is at work, which is within but is awakened and the trace of which remains...⁷⁶

Brodsky's subsequent correspondence with Busoni indicates that the opportunity for them to perform together was as important to him as the opportunity to meet as friends. To give one example: anticipating Busoni's visit in November 1901, Brodsky wrote "It's most welcome... that you can and are willing to play with me in November..."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ "Wenn das Herz voll ist, dann wendet man sich an dem die man liebt um seine Empfindung zu mittheilen. Das ist schoene und das Schwere der Freundschaft, dass Sie aber theilen muss... Dieser Tag, an 1. Februar habe ich die Freude erlebt, dass Gerda leicht u[nd] gesunderweise eines Knaben entbunden wurde ... Est ist schwer u[und] hart es zu sagen, aber gesagte muss es werden! Unser liebe Nováček ist nicht mehr... Zwei Telegramme, eine von Boston u[nd] ein von New York, bestätigen die für mich noch ganz unglaubliche Thatsache...Lieben Freunde, ich bin dieser Tage um einige Jahre alter geworden. Wenn Geburt u[und] Tod so nahe an Einen streifen, dass man glaubt, den geheimnisvollen Mechanismus beinahe Durchlauf zu haben, da wird so manches versteckt gehaltene im Inneren wach u[nd] die Spur davon bleibt". Autograph letter from Ferruccio Busoni to Adolph and Anna Brodsky, 5 February 1900. RNCM AB/636.

⁷⁷ "Höchste willkommen... ist, dass Du im November bei mir spielen kannst und willst". Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 18 June 1901. Berlin: SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1065.

Two years later he looked forward to a concert in which Busoni was to give the first performance at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts of the Piano Quintet by César Franck, suggesting a certain flexibility in the programming which included the possibility that Busoni might include a Beethoven sonata.

...except that you could play as a solo one of the Beethoven sonatas

- 1) Quintet Cesar [sic] Franck
- 2) Piano sonata Beethoven
- 3) Quintet Brahms or Mozart ⁷⁸

Busoni for his part also looked forward to his performances with Brodsky. As he explained to Anna Brodsky in March 1905, he regretted that he would be too exhausted after a concert tour to take part in one of Brodsky's concerts.

...therefore I would be grateful to my highly esteemed friend Adolph if this time he takes me at my word and adjourns the matter until next December. You know how these quartet evenings are and how much I like to hear I'm needed at them.⁷⁹

It is fitting that the correspondence with Busoni ends where it began; with discussions over the piano professorship at the RMC. Busoni's pupil Egon Petri had held the post from 1905 to 1911, eventually resigning to continue his career in Germany. In February 1911 Brodsky sought Busoni's view on the matter of a successor,

⁷⁸ "...ausser Du spielst allein einen von der Beethovenschen Sonaten 1) Quintett Cesar Franck 2) Claviersonate Beethoven 3) Quintett Brahms oder Mozart." Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 3 November 1903. Berlin: SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1067. The concert took place on 2 December; in the end the Beethoven sonata was omitted and both the Brahms String Quintet, op.88 and Mozart's, K.614 were performed.

⁷⁹ "Deshalb waere ich meinem hochverehrten u[nd] lieben Freund Adolph dankbar, wenn er mich diesmal meines Wortes entbände u[nd] die Sache auf den nächsten December vertagte. Sie wissen, wie seiner Quartett Abende sind u[nd] wie gerne ich höre, dass man nicht dort brauchen Kann!" Autograph letter from Ferruccio Busoni to Adolph Brodsky, 5 March 1905. RNCM AB/637.

concerned to add the rider “Although you have had no conscious influence on Petri’s departure...”.⁸⁰

Busoni sought to contradict him.

I have had an influence on Egon, so far as his own wishes went: and I wanted to help him fulfil them. Life is “merciless” and goes on incessantly. That sounds like a commonplace, but it really is true... So, should Egon be suited to other fates... than as a piano teacher in Manchester, then at the age of thirty the moment to part company has arrived. He knew this himself, and sometimes not without bitterness... I very much appreciate the good in his activities in Manchester.⁸¹

Here the correspondence between Brodsky and Busoni ends. Busoni’s visits to Manchester had afforded Brodsky a genuine opportunity to renew a musical link forged in Leipzig and maintained, at least sporadically, in New York.⁸² While opportunities to maintain an equivalent link in person with Grieg were less forthcoming, it is clear that Brodsky greatly valued the presence of both composers in Manchester and sought, albeit with varying degrees of success, to connect with them through the medium of performance. With others from the Leipzig circle this was impossible. Although death had robbed him of those such as Brahms, Tchaikovsky

⁸⁰ “Obzwar Du keinen gewissen Einfluss auf Petri’s Abgang gehabt haben...” Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Ferruccio Busoni, 2 February 1911. Berlin: SPK, Mus NL F Busoni B II 1069.

⁸¹ “Ich habe auf Egon [Petri] eingewirkt, so weit als seine eigenen Wünsche gingen; und ich wollte helfen, diese zu erfüllen. Das Leben ist “merciless”, und geht unaufhaltsam weiter. Das klingt wie eine Gemeinplatz, das ist: wie eine “wahre” Wahrheit... Sollst also Egon zu einem anderen Schicksale geeignet und ausserlichen sein, als – als Clavierlehrer in Manchester fort zu wirken – so war mit seinem 30. Jahre der Augenblick der Entscheidung eingetreten. Das fühlte er selbst, und nicht ohne Bitterheit manchmal... Ich weiss sehr zu schätzen, was an seiner Manchester Thätigkeit gut war”. Autograph letter from Ferruccio Busoni to Adolph Brodsky, 20 February 1911. RNCM AB/640. Petri was succeeded by Frank Merrick.

⁸² Busoni did visit Manchester after the First World War. He performed with the Hallé Orchestra in February 1921, but no correspondence with Brodsky survives from this period. C.f. “Music and drama”. *Manchester Guardian*: 5 February 1921, p.6.

or Nováček, he could at least keep their memory alive through championing their music. That was to be a recurrent theme in his Brodsky Quartet Concerts, which are discussed as a case study in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Brodsky Quartet Concerts to 1914

Before long a quartet was formed in Manchester. It was cosmopolitan, as Brodsky, Briggs, Speelman and Fuchs hailed from Russia, England, Holland and Germany respectively.¹

Although the trajectory of Brodsky's career to date suggested a certain inevitability in his decision to form a string quartet in Manchester, as the previous chapter shows, the impetus came in part from Hallé in his request that Brodsky organise a series of chamber music concerts within the RMCM in his capacity as Professor of Violin. Brodsky's predecessor Willy Hess had given concerts with his own RMCM-based quartet, and Hallé's intention that Brodsky should continue the practice is suggested in the pages of the *Manchester Courier* as early as March 1895; that is, within weeks of Brodsky's appointment being confirmed:

Mr Hess's seat will have another occupant when the next season comes round. We have already expressed our earnest regret for the fact; but we are glad to learn from several sources that his successor, M. Brodsky, is both by ability and experience amply qualified to fill the seriously important post from which Mr. Willy Hess retires.²

Brodsky would not have had to look far to find players of sufficient calibre in reforming his quartet in Manchester. All three of his colleagues were both members of the Hallé Orchestra and fellow RMCM teachers who had been

¹ Carl Fuchs. *Recollections of Carl Fuchs 'cellist*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1937, p.73.

² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 8 March 1895, p.8.

among Hallé's initial staff appointments to the college in 1893.³ Christopher Rawdon Briggs (1869-1948) hailed from a well-to-do Yorkshire Unitarian family. His mother Alice, herself a talented and well-connected amateur musician, compiled a memoir which she published privately in 1917 and which provides an invaluable source for Briggs' own childhood and early career.⁴ Despite possessing a slight hearing impairment, Briggs developed as a gifted violinist while still a child and as a young man had been offered a place to study with Brodsky's former teacher Hellmesberger in Vienna, but was prevented by his mother's protectiveness at this stage from taking it up.⁵ He later studied in Berlin with Joseph Joachim. According to Alice's memoir, he was already an experienced quartet player by the time he came to Manchester. Alice also confirms that Rawdon Briggs' appointment to the staff of the RMCM slightly predates his becoming a member of the Hallé Orchestra, which he subsequently joined during the 1893-94 season.⁶

Simon Speelman (1851-1920) had come to Manchester at the invitation of the Dutch flautist and former Hallé Orchestra member Edward de Jong and had himself been a member of the Hallé since the mid-1870s.⁷ By 1895

³ C.f. Geoffrey Thomason. Hess, huffs and Hallé facts: staff appointments in the early years of the Royal Manchester College of Music. *Manchester Sounds*: 3 (2002), pp.55-67.

⁴ Alice Sophia Briggs. *Leaves from the diary of A.S.B. For her family. Privately printed 1917*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1917. The author is grateful to Mr. Frank Rutherford for making available a copy with Alice Briggs' autograph annotations.

⁵ Information from Rawdon Briggs' grandson John Stowell. C.f. <http://www.stowell.org.nz/surnames/briggs.html> (Acc. 28 October 2014).

⁶ C.f. Thomas Batley. *Sir Charles Hallé's concerts in Manchester. A list of vocal and instrumental soloists (with the dates of their appearances since the commencement of the concerts); members of the orchestra, the instruments they have played, the total number of years engaged; also, the whole of the programmes of concerts, from January 30th, 1858, to March 7th, 1895*. Manchester: Chas. Sever, [1896].

⁷ The Speelman papers at the Hallé Concerts Society archive contain a letter from Speelman to J. Aitken Forsyth, dated 10 August 1916, confirming that the former had

Speelman was the orchestra's principal viola. Earlier in his career he had played both violin and viola; the list of initial staff appointments in the RMCM *Minutes of Council* show that he was actually appointed as a teacher of violin.⁸ As previously mentioned, he is listed as playing both violin and viola in Henry Rensburg's concerts in Liverpool, alongside his violinist brother Samuel. A third brother, Maurice, also played the violin professionally, and both Samuel and Maurice were also members of the Hallé Orchestra. Simon Speelman was also active as a conductor and for many years directed the orchestra on the North Pier at Blackpool during the summer season.

The 'cellist Carl Fuchs (1865-1951) was a native of Offenbach. He had studied at the then new Hoch Conservatoire in Frankfurt with Bernard Cossmann and in Saint Petersburg with Karl Davidov. While at the Hoch Conservatoire his performance of the Schumann 'Cello Concerto had impressed the composer's widow Clara Schumann, who subsequently gave him a letter of introduction to Charles Hallé in Manchester. Thus it was that Fuchs made his debut in Manchester, not as a rank and file player, but as a soloist, in March 1887, when he played his teacher Davidov's B minor Concerto at the Gentlemen's Concerts under Hallé. For the 1887-88 season he was active as a member of August Manns' orchestra in Glasgow; thereafter he settled in Manchester where he succeeded Ernest Vieuxtemps as principal 'cellist of the Hallé Orchestra.⁹ Fuchs was the only member of

first played in the Hallé Orchestra in 1877-78, when the viola section was led by Otto Bernardt. Batley Op. cit., however, lists Speelman as having joined in the 1875-76 season.

⁸ The lack of students listed as being principal study viola players continued throughout the whole of Brodsky's tenure as Principal.

⁹ Batley confusingly does not include Fuchs as a member of the orchestra in his list of the "Present orchestra. Thirty-eighth season 1895-96", nor his list of the orchestra's "cellists since 1858, but does include him in a list of "Members of the orchestra and

the Brodsky Quartet to have written a personal memoir. His *Erinnerungen eines Offenbacher Cellisten*, published in 1932, while largely anecdotal, provides useful biographical information about his earlier career.¹⁰ An English translation – the *Recollections of Carl Fuchs, 'cellist*, referred to earlier - appeared in 1937. This differs slightly in content from the original; the significance of these differences as a reflection of Fuchs's dual English and German allegiances will be returned to in Chapter 7.

According to a report in the *Manchester Guardian*, the earliest appearances of the Brodsky Quartet were, in keeping with Hallé's intentions, "given to audiences of invited guests in the hall of the Royal College of Music [sic] in Ducie Street; they were not open to the public".¹¹ The anonymous author continued:

...the admiration aroused by the wonderful playing of Mr. Brodsky and his associates was universal, and many of those who had the privilege of hearing them... expressed the hope that the concerts might be continued and made more generally accessible.¹²

One of the RMCM concerts, given on 24 February 1896, attracted the attention of the press. The *Manchester Guardian*, which was in the fullness of time to prove a staunch supporter of Brodsky's concerts in Manchester, was as concerned with communicating the pioneering significance of the event as

the instruments they have played", where he is recorded as having been a member for two years.

¹⁰ Carl Fuchs. *Erinnerungen eines Offenbacher 'Cellisten*. Bethel bei Bielefeld: Buchdruckerei der Anstalt Bethel, 1932.

¹¹ "The Brodsky Quartet concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 1 December 1896, p.5. The three concerts given at the RMCM are included in the full listing of the programmes of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts given in Appendix 2.

¹² *Ibid.*

it was of reviewing the performances. The review is unsigned, but is likely to be by Arthur Johnstone, music critic of the *Manchester Guardian* from 1896-1904.¹³ Not least it stressed both the rarity of first-class chamber concerts outside London and the educational opportunities they afforded in introducing the public to equally first-class music, while singling out chamber music for possessing an appeal granted only to a select band of initiates.

The opportunities of hearing concerted chamber music rendered by thoroughly competent instrumentalists are unfortunately rare in this country... apart from London the musical centres of Britain are wanting in concert schemes which allow students and amateurs to become familiar with the trios, quartets, quintets and other allied works of the great masters.... there is no kind of music which appeals so little to the general public. Especially quartets and... compositions for strings alone... may be regarded as unfit for all but that narrow section of the public who are capable of enjoying with brain as well as nerves; in short, as only appealing to amateurs who take music somewhat seriously, connoisseurs and students.¹⁴

Certainly if one looks through the regular reports of provincial concerts published in the *Musical Times* in the late 1890s and early 1900s, there is little reference to chamber music in the major cities among the many paragraphs given over to reviews of orchestral and more particularly choral concerts.

¹³ Johnstone was succeeded by Ernest Newman (1905-06) and subsequently Samuel Langford (1906-1927). Neville Cardus, who succeeded Langford in 1927, was in post at the time of Brodsky's death in 1929.

¹⁴ "Mr. Brodsky's quartet concert". *Manchester Guardian*: 25 February 1896, p.5.

The reviewer continues by duly acknowledging Brodsky's reputation as a chamber musician in Leipzig before critiquing the Quartet's performances of an unspecified Haydn quartet and two others that Brodsky had played on several occasions in both Leipzig and New York: Schumann's op.41 no.2 and Beethoven's op.59 no.2. The playing is noted as being "masterly throughout" and the audience as "large and enthusiastic", with "Mr. Brodsky and his companions being warmly recalled after each number".¹⁵

Brodsky's decision to present his subsequent concerts outside the confines of the college might also have been made with an eye to attracting a larger audience by opting for those venues in which a tradition of chamber music concerts was already established. Chief of these was the Gentlemen's Concert Hall where, as discussed in Chapter 1, Hallé had introduced an increasing amount of chamber music into the concerts as both a means of promoting himself and of deflecting potential competition from his own Hallé Orchestra concerts. It could also be argued that by the closing years of the nineteenth century the Gentlemen's Concert Hall was grateful for every penny of revenue it could muster. As Wilfred Allis points out, by this time falling subscriptions and the increasing costs of obtaining predominantly foreign artists had taken a major toll of the concerts' finances, and by 1894 the decision had already been taken eventually to sell the Concert Hall to the Midland Railway Company, who had their eyes on it as a site for a new hotel.¹⁶ For this reason, the later Brodsky Quartet Concerts were given in a variety of venues, including the concert hall incorporated into the new Midland Hotel after its opening in 1903, and later the RMCM itself. Such changes of

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ A report on the 1896 AGM of the Gentlemen's Concerts, at which their financial position was discussed in detail, was carried by the *Manchester Guardian*: 31 July 1896, p.3.

venue did not, however, detract from the central position that the concerts were to occupy in both the career of the new Brodsky Quartet and the continuation of a chamber music tradition in the city of Manchester.¹⁷

As has also been noted in Chapter 1, the Gentlemen's Concert Hall was historically associated with exclusiveness, attracting a selective audience which could afford its high ticket prices. In what might be construed as a counter-elitist move, Brodsky intended from the outset that the Quartet would take no fee for their performances and that the concerts would be "to place within the reach of all classes, including those who can only afford to pay very low prices, the opportunity of hearing that purest of all forms of music [,] a first-rate string quartet".¹⁸ From this it might be deduced firstly, that chamber music was commonly held to be capable of appreciation only by a culturally educated elite and that its appeal was therefore lost on those who stood outside it and secondly, that this critical viewpoint was not necessarily corroborated by Brodsky's own concerts or those in which he chose to participate. For example, in Manchester itself, organisations such as Charles Rowley's Ancoats Brotherhood, at which the Brodsky Quartet made regular appearances, also aimed *inter alia* to bring chamber music to predominantly working class audiences. Brodsky's own substantial role in contributing to the Ancoats concerts is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Alan Bartley's study of the contemporary People's Concert Society in London has also highlighted similar projects within the working class communities of that city's East End,

¹⁷ Details of venues are given in Appendix 2.

¹⁸ "The Brodsky Quartet concerts". Op. cit.

not least in their espousing the strong belief in music's capacity for speaking to all, regardless of social or educational background.¹⁹

For the opening season of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts there was a simple ticket pricing system. A single reserved seat in the stalls cost 2/6 (12½p), an unreserved seat in the gallery 1/- (5p), and a subscription to the series of five concerts could be obtained for 10/-, (50p), that is, five stalls seats for the price of four. Modern day equivalents (2014) would approximate to £13, £5 and £53 respectively. These prices remained constant until the 1902-3 season, when the demolition of the hall necessitated a change of venue. All profits were donated to the RMCM's Sustentation Fund, which provided financial assistance to students. A note to this effect appeared in the programmes from 27 October 1897, but by then the practice was already established, since in April of that year the RNCM *Minutes of Council* recorded that "The Principal requested the acceptance of the Council of the sum of £58.19.0[,] (£58.95) the profits yielded by his series of Quartet Concerts in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall".²⁰ That it was actually Brodsky's intention from the outset to forego personal profit is suggested by the *Manchester Guardian* article cited above, which informed readers that "any surplus will go to one of the charitable funds of the Royal Manchester College of Music...".²¹ Some indication that the audience was still broadly middle class in composition is the note that appeared in the programme from the first season, informing patrons that tickets could be booked by telephone.

¹⁹ Alan Bartley. *Far from the fashionable crowd: the People's Concert Society and music in London suburbs*. [s.l.]: Whimbrel Publishing, 2009.

²⁰ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 28 April 1897.

²¹ "The Brodsky Quartet concerts". Op. cit.

Another venue at which the Manchester Brodsky Quartet would have found an established – and overwhelmingly German – audience for chamber music was the Schiller-Anstalt. Founded in 1859 to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Friedrich Schiller, the Schiller-Anstalt functioned as the principal cultural centre for Manchester's German community. From 1885 it met in a purpose built venue in Nelson Street, which included its own concert hall. It succeeded and partially overlapped with the Albert Club, in existence from 1840-1885, whose membership was drawn largely from affluent Manchester immigrants but which, unlike the Schiller-Anstalt, was not aimed principally at Manchester's Germans. Nor did it, as the Schiller-Anstalt did, offer an annual season of concerts consisting largely of chamber and vocal music.

Discussing German communities in Manchester, Su Coates has pointed out that whereas the Albert Club existed largely as a social venture, the Schiller-Anstalt saw itself primarily as a cultural one – a distinction which did not always find universal favour among its members.²²

The Schiller-Anstalt nevertheless operated as a private members' club and its concert ticket prices were noticeably higher than those for the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. In the mid-1890s members paid 5/- (25p) for a single ticket and for 15/- (75p) could obtain a subscription to four concerts for the price of three. Current equivalents (2014) would be in the region of £27 and £81 respectively. Here too patrons could book tickets by telephone.

For some time prior to Brodsky's arrival in Manchester, the concerts at the Schiller-Anstalt had been organised by Carl Fuchs, thereby providing Brodsky with a convenient point of entry to the Manchester chamber concert

²² Su Coates. "Manchester's German gentlemen: immigrant institutions in a provincial city 1840-1920". *Manchester Region History Review*. vol.5 no.2 (1991-92), pp.21-30.

environment.²³ Here Brodsky would have found further representatives of the same self-selecting group of cultured, appreciative German ex-pats who had attended his concerts in New York, and it was here that his newly formed Brodsky Quartet made its debut on 11 November 1895.²⁴ This was little more than two weeks since the death of Charles Hallé had set Brodsky's fledgling Manchester career on a hitherto unimagined course, one in which the immediacy of his new responsibilities might have demanded he see those responsibilities as a priority. Yet, as with his eagerness in these circumstances to press ahead with his desire to bring Grieg to Manchester, Brodsky's determination to re-engage with quartet playing implies an overarching desire to counter any sense of isolation by once more seizing on potential links to his own cultural and artistic comfort zone. In the case of the Schiller-Anstalt concerts, the ability to do this within an institution for which the promotion of a German musical culture by a largely German membership was a *raison d'être* presented an opportunity it would have been foolish to turn down.

For his quartet's debut, Brodsky offered as the principal work Brahms's A minor Quartet, op.51 no.2, perhaps with an eye to the frequency with which music by Brahms figured in the Schiller-Anstalt programmes. A retrospective survey of the institution's chamber concerts issued in 1902, listing works played since 1886, cites Brahms as the second most programmed composer, with 22 performances presenting 17 different works – only one behind

²³ Prior to Fuchs the concerts had been organised by Wily Hess.

²⁴ Brodsky appeared at the Schiller-Anstalt eight times between 1895 and 1904. For details of programmes see Appendix 2.

Beethoven, with 23 performances covering 18 works.²⁵ The Brahms performances include the Manchester première of the Clarinet Quintet, given in October 1892 by the Hallé principal clarinettist Hoffmann with a quartet consisting of Willy Hess, Simon Speelman, his brother Samuel, and Carl Fuchs. This therefore predates by eight years the performance given by its dedicatee Richard Mühlfeld with the Brodsky Quartet on the occasion of the former's second visit to the city in 1900.²⁶ Other Brahms works that received their first Manchester performance at the Schiller–Anstalt concerts include the String Quartet, op.67 and the two string quintets.²⁷

The Brodsky Quartet's debut concert escaped the notice of the *Manchester Guardian* but was favourably reviewed in both the *Musical Times* and the *Manchester Courier*.

I must very briefly record that, at the second of the musical evenings of the Schiller Anstalt... Herr Brodsky gave us his first public demonstration of his great ability as a leader in ensemble playing, and

²⁵ Brodsky's own parts for the Brahms op.51 no.2 quartet are the original Simrock imprint and contain numerous markings characteristic of a working set. Author's private collection.

²⁶ Before then there was to be a further performance of the Brahms quintet at the Schiller-Anstalt prior to Mühlfeld's own; in February 1896 it was given by the Hallé's second clarinettist Norton and the Schiever Quartet. Ironically, Mühlfeld's initial visit had taken place a mere two months after the quintet performance at the Schiller-Anstalt. Fuch's part in securing Mühlfeld for the Schiller-Anstalt concerts is hinted at in a postcard dated 17 April 1899 from Mühlfeld to Fuchs in the McCann collection at the Royal Academy of Music. "Nach Empfang Ihres letzten Briefes schrieb ich gleich an Mr. Chappell in London... hab aber bis jetzt kein Antwort erhalten". (After receiving your last letter I wrote straightaway to Mr. Chappell in London... but have up until now received no reply). RAM MO7-2006.1945.

²⁷ C.f. *The Musical World*: 4 March 1905, pp.147-8. The article erroneously refers to Mühlfeld's 1900 visit to Manchester as his first.

that the strongest hope was excited that at last chamber music may find a peculiarly suitable home among us.²⁸

On Monday evening the second concert of the season was given, the fine hall of the institution being crowded. Brahms' fine quartet in A [minor]... opened the concert, and Haydn's exceptionally modern-looking quartet in G, op.17, closed it; while during its progress Mr. Brodsky gave a vigorous rendering of Bach's difficult "Chaconne".²⁹

The Haydn quartet that was played alongside the Brahms was the comparatively early op.17 no.5, which Fuchs, in his hand-written preface to his collection of Schiller-Anstalt programmes, refers to as the one "with the recitative".³⁰ Paradoxically this work of 1771 emerges as a more radical piece of programming than the chronologically more modern Brahms quartet of 1873, not simply because of the daring use of recitative to which Fuchs refers. For Brodsky it was familiar territory. It had already featured in his quartet concerts in New York and was to remain a favourite throughout his years in Manchester. It would, however, have been far less familiar to his Schiller-Anstalt audience. The reviewer's reference to it as "exceptionally modern-looking" might well allude to its above-mentioned inclusion of an instrumental recitative, but might also spring from the comparative rarity with which Haydn's quartets, and particularly an early one such as this, were heard in Manchester, even at this late stage in the century. They had barely

²⁸ "Music in Manchester". *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*. Vol. 36, No. 634 (Dec. 1, 1895), p.829.

²⁹ "Concert at the Schiller-Anstalt". *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 13 November 1895, p.8.

³⁰ MCL R780.69 Me81. Fuchs's bound collection of concert programmes from 1887 until the closure of the Schiller-Anstalt in 1911 are held in Manchester Central Library. MCL R780.69 Me81.

featured, for example, in the chamber concerts given by the Gentlemen's Concerts in the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued to be rarities outside Brodsky's own concerts. Haydn's reputation in Manchester was not helped either by the stated antipathy of the *Manchester's Guardian's* chief music critic Samuel Langford, who was otherwise to become one of the Brodsky Quartet's staunchest champions.³¹ Even when the Hallé Concerts Society commemorated the centenary of Haydn's death in 1909, his opinion was that

...There comes such a time for even the best and greatest of men... when they are no further use to anybody, when what they have taught us have been learned just a little too well, and must be unlearned... before further progress can be made. There is no use now in turning part of a concert audience away so that Haydn may be brought out of his grave to speak for himself by the hour. We have Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms, his followers; let us hear them. Haydn is heard at his best in their works.³²

Haydn, for Langford, is positioned as no more than a precursor to the greater things to follow in an implicitly linear historical discourse which privileges the achievements of his successors in the Austro-German canon. Langford's claim for the superiority of Mozart also overlooks the fact that the latter's quartets were no more frequently performed in Manchester than Haydn's. By

³¹ Samuel Langford (1863-1927) was a native of Manchester who as a young man had studied piano and organ, continuing his studies at the Leipzig Conservatoire under Reinecke. He would therefore have first made the acquaintance of Brodsky there. Langford succeeded Ernest Newman as music critic of the *Manchester Guardian* in 1906 and held the post until his death. His music criticisms were published posthumously by his protégé and successor, Neville Cardus. C.f. Neville Cardus, ed. *Samuel Langford: music criticisms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

³² "The Hallé concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 29 January 1909, p.2. Carl Fuchs had Played the D major 'Cello Concerto.

way of comparison, quartets by Haydn featured in eleven of the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at London's St. James's Hall in the period 1895-99 alone, including three recitals by the Joachim Quartet. Nine different quartets were performed, including op.17 no.5.³³ For Brodsky, programming a Haydn quartet could thus be said to take on a dual role; a work representative of his own preference for the familiar was paradoxically presented to his audience as something unfamiliar and innovative. In this respect his choice of a Haydn quartet emerges as much as a statement of intention as does his choice of a quartet by Brahms, a re-emergence of the policy of cautious innovation which Brodsky had adopted in Leipzig and a small, but significant, presaging of his future tendency for using his own quartet concerts to introduce works which were hitherto unknown to Manchester audiences. In this context it is also interesting to observe that this policy was largely restricted to the concerts which Brodsky gave in Manchester.

Brodsky was no less innovative in the first of his named quartet concerts at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall. This took place on 16 December 1896. Two weeks previously, the significance of the event had already been heralded in a *Manchester Guardian* article which informed readers that:

In about a fortnight's time the first concert will be given of a series which, it is to be hoped, will mark a new era in the history of Manchester as a musical centre.³⁴

³³ A concert on 25 November 1895 also included Alfredo Piatti playing a "cello sonata in C major" by Haydn – presumably an arrangement - and a Haydn Piano trio was given on 20 January 1896. In contrast, only four Mozart quartets were given during the same period, one of which (K.421) was heard twice.

³⁴ "The Brodsky Quartet concerts". Op. cit.

The printed programme includes another Haydn quartet; this time the late op.76 no.1, which Brodsky had performed in his Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts.³⁵ However, the review in the *Manchester Guardian* makes it clear that Brodsky chose instead to repeat the op.17 no.5 quartet that had featured in his Schiller-Anstalt concert. In this instance one might surmise shortage of rehearsal time as a motivating factor. Comparing it to the first of Beethoven's *Rasumovsky* quartets, which was also performed, the reviewer again damned Haydn with faint praise. Whereas the Haydn quartet was "rendered with all the simplicity and liveliness that properly belongs to the best eighteenth-century music", the Beethoven "exhibited the mastery of the performers in a far more elaborate and profoundly expressive style".³⁶

More significantly, Brodsky opted once again to programme another work that related to his Leipzig period, the more so since it offered a direct link with the circle of musicians which he had built around himself there. This was the Piano Trio by Tchaikovsky, here making the first of no less than seven appearances at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts between 1896 and 1917. The pianist on this occasion was Alexander Siloti, celebrated as a star pupil of Liszt whose early career in Leipzig had coincided with Brodsky's own tenure there and brought him into close contact with both Brodsky and Tchaikovsky. The RCMC *Minutes of Council* make it clear that Siloti's advice had also been sought when Brodsky was seeking a Professor of Piano.³⁷ In Leipzig, Siloti

³⁵ 17 April 1886. At a concert at the RCMC on 24 February 1896 the quartet had also performed Haydn's op.76 no.5. MCL Rq780.69 Me60.

³⁶ "Concert of the Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 December 1896, p.7. Although unnamed, the reviewer is likely to have been Samuel Langford.

³⁷ "The Principal reported that he had been in communication with Mr. Max Pauer, Mr. Borwick [and] Mr. Siloti with reference to filling the post of Principal Professor of the Pianoforte". RCMC *Minutes of Council*, 25 November 1895. Arthur de Greef has also been considered after Busoni declined the offer.

had also performed the Tchaikovsky trio in the composer's presence in January 1888. The *imprimatur* conveyed by having two performers who were intimates of the composer now perform the trio in Manchester was not lost on the *Manchester Guardian's* critic; neither was the novelty of the piece *per se*.

In association with Mr. Brodsky and Mr. Fuchs [Siloti] introduced to the Manchester public Tchaikovsky's extremely remarkable trio in A minor... The performance of this most interesting work was quite masterly... The performers did not always follow the printed indications of tempo... but, seeing that two out of the three executants... besides being performers of world-wide reputation, were intimate personal friends of the illustrious composer, it may be surmised that they had good reasons for what they did. The trio was heard throughout with evident interest...³⁸

The author also commented on "a decidedly good audience", if "not sufficient to crowd the room", which observations suggest that audiences were by no means reluctant to hear unfamiliar repertoire.³⁹ Siloti also offered an equally novel piece from the Russian repertoire, the Suite for two pianos by Arensky. His duo partner was William Dayas, whom Brodsky had recently appointed to succeed Hallé as Professor of Piano. "It was noticeable", commented the *Manchester Guardian*, "that nearly the whole audience waited till the end", creating the suggestion that the opposite was often the norm and that, at least for some who patronised concerts in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall, old habits

³⁸ Ibid. The unfamiliarity of the trio is hinted at by the review's referring to it as being listed in the programme in D minor rather than A minor, although the error is reproduced in the heading to the article.

³⁹ Ibid.

died hard.⁴⁰ *The Musical Times* also commented that “the large audience was very enthusiastic”.⁴¹

Siloti himself was making the first of seven appearances at the Brodsky Quartet concerts; subsequent ones often occurred in the early spring, where Brodsky was able to take advantage of his compatriot’s annual tours to the UK. Although this was not the first time Siloti had performed in Manchester – he had made his debut there at the Gentlemen’s Concerts under Hallé in December 1892 – Manchester and Birmingham were the only two major British cities outside London to which he regularly toured.

Brodsky had thus begun his own quartet series with something of a mission statement, implying that he would use his concerts as a vehicle for introducing music as yet unfamiliar to Manchester audiences, while acknowledging an existing preference for the Austro-German canon which was central to his own repertoire. Even within this first season, his programming offers confirmation of, and is moreover permeated with, echoes of his Leipzig circle. For his next concert, on 30 January 1897, he presented the Piano Quintet by Christian Sinding, which he had premièred, with Busoni, in Leipzig in January 1889. For the Manchester performance the pianist was again William Dayas.

The Sinding quintet was heard alongside Beethoven’s last quartet, op.135 and, less predictably, Mozart’s G major “Haydn” Quartet, K.387 – although the *Manchester Guardian* offered the backhanded compliment that despite a

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “Music in Manchester”. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*. Vol. 38, No. 647 (Jan. 1, 1897), pp. 39-40.

“faultless performance”, the quartet was “comparatively simple to play, as far as technique is concerned”.⁴² The reviewer, informed enough to know that “Sinding is a Scandinavian composer who enjoys a certain reputation dating from the production of one of his works some ten years ago by Mr. Brodsky’s Leipsic [sic] quartet”, was able to find some moments of beauty in the quintet and to note how the performers made light of its technical difficulty, but was nevertheless of the overall opinion that this was “the product of a strong but rather unrefined talent working in the service of an unruly imagination” and “of doubtful artistic soundness”.⁴³ Highest praise and the greater proportion of print were reserved for the Beethoven, whose late works are at once “resigned, spiritual, unearthly and prophetic” and which “will in all probability for ever prevent the music... from being popular with the general public”.⁴⁴ The implication here is that late Beethoven was to be regarded as caviar to the general and leads to the reviewer’s opinion that “no doubt the audience of last night was to a great extent an audience of connoisseurs”, flattering in its implication that this was an exclusive cultural elite.⁴⁵

Although press reports generally offer little demographic comment on those who attended the concerts, there is some indication that the concerts’ growing reputation was such that they were able to attract audiences from outside Manchester and its immediate suburbs. For example, writing under the pseudonym “Musicus”, a contributor to the *Blackburn Standard*, noted in April 1898 that

⁴² “Concert of the Brodsky Quartet”. *Manchester Guardian*: 21 January 1897, p.10.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

...Naturally many musicians from Blackburn and district took advantage of the splendid concerts given in Manchester during the musical season of 1897-8, but it may not be generally known that the record of musical activity in Manchester during that period has been nothing short of imposing... Apart from London, there is no other centre in the British Islands where the opportunities of hearing symphonic music is so considerable. In the matter of chamber music, too, we have the perfectly artistic performances of the Brodsky Quartet, the admirable musical evenings organised by Mr. Carl Fuchs at the Schiller Club, and a good many special concerts given by the pianists, violinists, and vocal soloists, all bearing the stamp of artistic endeavour.⁴⁶

Like his Manchester counterpart, cited above, "Musicus" was keen to draw favourable comparisons with London and point out the significance of Manchester's role in providing a high level of music-making away from the capital. Moreover, the Brodsky Quartet was already giving recitals outside Manchester. Regional press reports allude to appearances not only in Blackburn itself, but also *inter alia* in Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, Liverpool and north of the border in Helensburgh. They also provide evidence that these concerts demonstrated a looser structure than those in Manchester, closer to the older mixed-genre model of the miscellaneous concerts. When the Quartet performed in Blackburn in October 1898, for example, their programme was a mixture of whole quartets, isolated movements and instrumental solos.⁴⁷ It is also apparent that concerts given outside the city

⁴⁶ *Blackburn Standard*: 16 April 1898, p.5.

⁴⁷ "Chamber concert. The Brodsky Quartet at Blackburn". *Blackburn Standard*: 22 October 1898, p.5.

itself, while often duplicating the canonic repertoire heard by Manchester audiences, invariably lack the more innovative repertoire to which those audiences were being introduced. “Innovative” could, in some instances, even extend to Tchaikovsky. In 1902, even Elgar felt obliged to point out to Fuchs, concerning the Quartet’s suggested programme for a concert by the Worcester Philharmonic Society, that its patrons might not yet be ready for a whole Tchaikovsky quartet.

Please explain to Brodsky that much as I should have liked to have a Tchaikovsky our people are not (not) too well educated in IV tets [sic] & it is better to play something else, until perhaps the autumn!⁴⁸

Outside Manchester, the Quartet was also more likely to share the stage with vocal soloists, who moreover could be billed as the greater draw, as at the Leeds Philharmonic Society in July 1900, where the *Leeds Mercury* informed its readers that

...Dr. Joachim will again be missed, but in his absence the executive have done well to secure the presence of the Brodsky Quartet... as well as the services of Mdme. Blanche Marchesi (vocalist)... whose first appearance here will be awaited with interest.⁴⁹

...or as in Huddersfield, where

...Most of the concerts are, as usual, to be of the miscellaneous order, songs and instrumental solos predominating. Chamber music is not greatly favoured at this series, but it is gratifying to note that the

⁴⁸ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Carl Fuchs, 25 March 1902. RNCM CF/1/11. The repeated “not” bears testament to Elgar’s habit of occasionally repeating the final word of a line at the opening of the next.

⁴⁹ “Leeds Philharmonic Society and Subscription Concerts”. *Leeds Mercury*: 5 July 1900, p.7.

Brodsky Quartet are engaged for one evening, when Mdme. Blanche Marchesi will make a welcome appearance as the vocalist...⁵⁰

Beethoven's op.18 no.2 opened Brodsky's next Manchester concert on 3 February, which also featured the RMCM's Max Mayer in Brahms's Piano Quintet and another Brodsky favourite, Schubert's *Death and the maiden* Quartet, D.810. The choice of the Schubert might well have been conditioned by the fact that it was also included in a Schubert centenary concert at the Schiller-Anstalt a week later, where it was the opening work in a programme which concluded with another favourite of the Leipzig period, the String Quintet, D.956. On that occasion Henry Smith was the second 'cellist. Such duplications of works in concerts given in close succession in different concert series are understandable from a practical point of view. Although they are a consistent feature of Brodsky's Manchester performances, they beg the question as to the extent to which audience membership overlapped. A later writer in the *Manchester Courier* was to remark on this matter:

A very readable little volume might be written on the psychology of the different musical audiences that are found in Manchester... Dr. Brodsky has his own following...⁵¹

The Schubert quintet itself was repeated in the last of the season's Brodsky Quartet concerts, on 31 March.⁵² On this occasion it was the Schiller-Anstalt

⁵⁰ "Musical & Dramatic notes – Huddersfield subscription concerts". *Leeds Mercury*: 15 June 1900, p.7.

⁵¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 22 November 1911, p.6. The title "Dr. Brodsky" alludes to Brodsky having been awarded an honorary Mus.D. by Manchester University in 1902.

⁵² The concert also included a further performance of Schumann's Quartet, op.41 no.2 and Mozart's Clarinet Quintet with Frederick Norton.

concert that received press coverage. The *Manchester Guardian* critic made light of the one genuine novelty in the programme, dismissing Fuchs's performance of the Arpeggione Sonata as merely "pretty and charming, but... of secondary interest", preferring to commend the "masterly rendering" of the *Death and the maiden* quartet and the "masterly performance" of the quintet.⁵³ Yet, even with no Beethoven on the programme, the reviewer felt the need to assess Schubert's compositional skill in both the quartet and quintet by reference to the influence of perceived Beethovenian models.⁵⁴

Brodsky had also opened the penultimate concert of this first season with another Manchester première of a work he had first performed in one of his earliest Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts, the op.35 quartet by Robert Volkmann.⁵⁵ If Volkmann's quartets were unknown to Manchester audiences, his chamber music would not have been wholly unfamiliar to one other member of the Brodsky Quartet. Simon and Samuel Speelman are given as performers in an otherwise unspecified Volkmann quartet in one of Henry Rensburg's Liverpool concerts in January 1886.⁵⁶ In the Manchester concert, on 24 February 1897, it was presented alongside Beethoven's Quartet, op.95 and Dvořák's Piano Quintet, op.81 with Olga Neruda, the sister-in law of Charles Hallé and another of Hallé's initial appointees to the staff of the RMCM. The *Manchester Guardian* chose to see the Dvořák quintet rather than the Volkmann as the real novelty on the programme. It was, after all, the

⁵³ "Schubert centenary: concert at the Schiller Anstalt". *Manchester Guardian*: 11 February 1897, p.5.

⁵⁴ "...the concluding Presto [of the quartet] moves in the tarantella rhythm adopted by Beethoven in more than one of his finales... those who dislike the suggestion of a mystical character [in the quintet] may trace in the music the influence of Beethoven's later manner". Ibid.

⁵⁵ 24 January 1885. Brodsky performed it again at the Gewandhaus on 14 April.

⁵⁶ 10 January 1886. BL M.Mus 307/8.

more modern of the two works, having been written only nine years previously, and its composer was still alive. In contrast, Volkmann had died in 1883, and his op.35 quartet dated from 1857. Nevertheless, both offer a reminder that a substantial amount of the repertoire presented in the chamber concert series to which the Brodsky Quartet contributed was, at least at this stage, new or recent music by contemporary or near contemporary composers.

This is certainly the case with one composer whose music Brodsky chose to perform in the opening concert of his second season, on 27 October 1897. This was the Violin Sonata, op.12 by his RMCM colleague William Dayas, here receiving its first performance. It was not yet published, and the programme made a point of informing its readers that it was to be played from the manuscript.⁵⁷ The review in the *Manchester Guardian* the following day gave it the fullest attention, not only complimenting Dayas on his “melodic invention, boldness and originality in his harmony and modulations [and] energy in his rhythms”, but also assuming musical literacy on the part of its readers in offering a brief analysis of each movement, complete with musical examples.⁵⁸ It also confirmed the extent to which the Brodsky Quartet concerts had now become a significant event in Manchester’s musical landscape. Their concerts were now compared not just with chamber concerts in London, but also with those in the wider field of continental Europe:

...to all who have the cause of genuine music at heart the aspect of the Concert Hall must have been deeply gratifying, indicating, as it did,

⁵⁷ It was subsequently published in Leipzig by Kistner, with a dedication to Brodsky. Undated imprint: Plate no.8927.

⁵⁸ “The Brodsky Quartet: a new sonata”. *Manchester Guardian*: 28 October 1897, p.9.

an increase of public interest in the exquisite art of which Mr. Brodsky and his associates are such magnificent exponents... Manchester now possesses a group of string players whose chamber concerts will stand comparison with the best that is done in the same genre anywhere in Europe.⁵⁹

The Dayas sonata appeared as the central work in a concert otherwise consisting of Mozart's final quartet, K.590 and Beethoven's op.59 no.2, the pattern of a new work sandwiched between two canonic ones echoing the approach which Brodsky had adopted when programming new works in Leipzig but, as has been noted above, often absent from other concert series outside Manchester in which the Brodsky Quartet appeared. Both were acknowledged by the reviewer, but otherwise dealt with briefly. Three years later Fuchs gave the first performance of Dayas's 'Cello Sonata, also with the composer, and also from manuscript.⁶⁰

Already by the turn of the century, Brodsky had introduced into the concerts numerous works either completely new or less familiar to Manchester audiences, several of which can be linked composers or performers in his circle. Shortly before Grieg's visit to the city in November 1897, Brodsky programmed his String Quartet, op.27. "In view of the Norwegian composer's approaching visit to Manchester", noted the *Manchester Guardian*, "the performance of his one string quartet by Mr. Brodsky and his colleagues may be taken as a graceful compliment", although the reviewer cannot resist the temptation to offer a more partisan critique.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ 5 December 1900. The sonata was published in 1901 by Kistner und Siegel in Leipzig.

Except on those rare occasions when Grieg lapses into absolute triviality, nearly all his compositions possess a certain romantic and poetic charm, and in the quartet we find many examples of the strangely pathetic little themes, the curious harmonies... and other harmless little mannerisms that are dear to the hearts of Grieg's many admirers. Every bar of the work is stamped with the individuality of the Norwegian composer. But... we regret to have found very little else in the work that merits commendation.⁶¹

Elsewhere the music is dismissed as "trivial", "vulgar" or "straining after grandiose effect" – although there is at least praise for an interpretation which was "such a triumph of skill as almost to make the work sound satisfactory".⁶² The audience, though, seemed to have enjoyed it more than the reviewer: "Once more... the enthusiasm of the audience, combined with their satisfactory numbers, left no room for doubt as to the hold that Mr. Brodsky has obtained upon the sympathies of the general public".⁶³

The size of the audience might well have been due to the presence of Busoni, who, as previously noted, was appearing for the first time in Manchester. Whatever the view of the *Manchester Guardian*, the Grieg quartet was not rehearsed in vain. Three days later Brodsky performed it in York at a concert of the York Musical Union, in what was deemed to be "a delightful programme" by the *Musical Times*.⁶⁴

⁶¹ "Concert of the Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 18 November 1897, p.5.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ "Music in Yorkshire". *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*: Vol. 39, No. 659 (Jan. 1, 1898), pp.45-46.

Further appearances by Alexander Siloti brought the Piano Trio by Arensky (15 December 1897) and the Piano Sonata, op.37 by Tchaikovsky (7 March 1900). Siloti repeated the Tchaikovsky on his subsequent visit on 2 February 1901, as a replacement of the advertised Piano Quintet by Arensky. This had also been planned as a Manchester première but had to be abandoned. A note in the programme explained that “Mr. Brodsky regrets to announce that, owing to unexpected difficulties which made it impossible to rehearse Arensky’s new work, Mr. Siloti has kindly consented to play the Sonata, which he was compelled to play last season on a very inferior instrument”.

Performances of Saint-Saëns’s Piano Trio, op.92 (23 November 1898), Nováček’s String Quartet, op.10 (21 November 1898) and Busoni’s Violin Sonata, op.29 (6 December 1899) are all listed as being given for the first time in Manchester. If the first of these represents a rare foray into the French repertoire for Brodsky, the others once more hark back to musical connections forged in Leipzig. In the 1901-1902 season Brodsky introduced Tchaikovsky’s second quartet, op.22, repeating it within the same season. By then the concert venue had moved a short distance from the soon-to-be demolished Gentlemen’s Concert Hall to the Association Hall on Peter Street. To judge from the income which Brodsky was able to donate to the RMCM Sustentation Fund, the move initially made little or no negative impact on audience sizes. In the 1901-1902 season the concerts raised £113.19s.1d (£113.95), an increase on the previous season’s £89.5s.5d (£89.27). Takings had, in fact, been rising year on year since the concerts’ inception, suggesting that Brodsky’s judiciously innovative programming was finding favour with his audiences, if not always with professional critics. Equally indicative of the concerts’ popularity was the fact that, with the move to the Association Hall, the number of concerts per season was increased to six from the 1902-1903

season onwards, necessitating a rise in the annual subscription to 12/- (60p.). Evidence that the concerts had by now become an established feature of Manchester's musical culture is supported by the fact that, from the turn of the century, the Brodsky Quartet was making fewer appearances at the Schiller-Anstalt, although the names of individual quartet members – notably Fuchs - continued to appear on its programmes.

New "Leipzig" works heard in the 1902-1903 season included the G minor Quartet, op.14, by Volkmann (10 October 1902) and the second quartet, op.10, by Nováček (12 November 1902). For the October concert Brodsky's pupil Arthur Catterall replaced Speelman as violist, the latter's absence, as the *Manchester Guardian* explained, being owed to a recent bereavement. The *Manchester Guardian* – perhaps as a reflection of audience expectations – remarked that the concert contained "nothing in the heroic vein".⁶⁵ No reference is made to the novelty of the Volkmann quartet, which, like the Haydn quartet played at the end of the programme, is viewed as "homely", although it "shows technical maturity and is full of fine passage work that gives even masterly players plenty to do. The rendering was admirable in all respects".⁶⁶ For the central work in the programme Brodsky was partnered by Edward Isaacs in Beethoven's Violin Sonata, op.12 no.3, readers being reminded that "As usual at these concerts, the middle place in the programme was occupied by a work with a pianoforte part".⁶⁷ This observation also touches on a significant difference between the Brodsky Quartet concerts and those at the Schiller-Anstalt. Whereas in the former instrumental duos were

⁶⁵ "Concert of the Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 9 October 1902, p.8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

the exception in a repertoire centered on works for larger ensembles, they featured more prominently in the Schiller-Anstalt concerts, which moreover frequently included vocal items.

The *Manchester Guardian* also devoted a lengthy review to the Nováček, reminding its readers of Brodsky's role as its composer's teacher in Leipzig and of Nováček's premature death in 1900. It observed too that his name "is not entirely strange to Manchester audiences".⁶⁸ Understandably, the reviewer takes Dvořák as his point of comparison, receiving the work favourably and paying Nováček the posthumous compliment that "had [he] lived twenty years longer his name might very likely have been added to the brief list of famous Czech composers".⁶⁹ He also hints at what might have been an ulterior motive in Brodsky's decision to programme the quartet. Earlier in the year he had given, with Dayas, the first Manchester performance of Busoni's second Violin Sonata, posthumously dedicated to Nováček.⁷⁰ On that occasion Dayas had prepared his own programme note in the form of a 22-page booklet – itself a rare example of a printed programme note of any kind being available at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. The lack of references in the press to any form of spoken introduction to performances, and the absence of printed programme notes, reinforce the presumption that, with the exceptions such as those referred to above, audiences were offered no form of either verbal introduction or written guidance to what they heard. The *Manchester Guardian* paid the work the singular compliment of comparing it to late Beethoven, but made no mention

⁶⁸ "The Brodsky Quartet concert". *Manchester Guardian*: 13 November 1902, p.5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ 19 February 1902.

of its connection with Nováček. That omission was rectified retrospectively in the later review of the quartet. What the earlier review does allude to is the sense of its executants bringing to the sonata an understanding born of the personal connection with its composer. The observation parallels that made in respect of the Tchaikovsky Piano Trio referred to above:

Between Mr. Dayas and Mr. Brodsky there exists the good understanding born of a long fellowship in the musical ministry, and the result was a rendering that would unquestionably have delighted the composer.⁷¹

Brodsky was to repeat the Nováček quartet in his 1906-07 season.⁷²

From the early years of the new century onwards Brodsky was to programme at least one work which was new to Manchester each season. In 1903-04 the novelty was the fourth quartet, op.11, by Sergey Taneyev. Brodsky had already performed this some days previously at the Ancoats Brotherhood, where it was reviewed by the *Manchester Guardian* as “the first time that this new work has been played in England” without passing further comment on the music, or indeed the significance of the event. It was repeated two years later in the 1905-96 season.⁷³ The *Manchester Guardian* review on this occasion was signed “E.N.” indicating that it was Ernest Newman who found the Taneyev “not a striking nor even an agreeable work. His gifts of musical characterisation are not very great...” and revealed some of his own preferences in opining that “nor can he make poor material as temporarily

⁷¹ “The Brodsky Quartet. Fourth concert”. *Manchester Guardian*: 20 February 1902, p.6.

⁷² 24 October 1906.

⁷³ 31 January 1906.

interesting as Brahms, for example, can often do".⁷⁴ Yet even Newman, after a lengthy and universally damning review of the piece, was gracious enough to concede that "It certainly lost nothing in the hands of last night's players. Mortal men could not have done more to make it lucid".⁷⁵

During these same years Brodsky also turned again to Tchaikovsky, offering a further performance of the Piano Trio and introducing the third quartet, op.30 (4 April 1906), in the Leipzig première of which he had also participated.⁷⁶ The trio was performed again in the next three seasons; in the 1908 performance the pianist was Percy Grainger. This, and the later 1910 performance, were both reviewed in the *Manchester Guardian* by Ferruccio Bonavia, whose own D major String Quartet was given its première at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts in November 1908. Samuel Langford was enthusiastic about what he saw as a significant – and overdue - event in Manchester's musical life.

That a composer resident in Manchester was to obtain a hearing at the Brodsky Concerts seemed a thing almost too good to be true:... and now that the idea that there is something in our atmosphere good for cotton but fatal to a composer's gifts is at last broken down, further ventures in Manchester music might be made.⁷⁷

Of more notable significance, however, is the parallel which Langford subtextually draws between the quartet's conservative language, its

⁷⁴ "The Brodsky Quartet concert". *Manchester Guardian*: 1 February 1906, p.6.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ 17 November 1888.

⁷⁷ "The Brodsky Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 26 November 1908, p.10.

accessible idiom, and its appeal to both audience and performers, reaffirming Brodsky's desire to be as cautious an innovator in the case of brand new works as he had been in Leipzig. Nevertheless, the Bonavia quartet was given alongside two works which he might also have considered popular options, Brahms's Piano Quintet and Beethoven's Quartet op.18 no.2.

Each movement pleased, and the composer, who was present, had to acknowledge most enthusiastic applause at the end. A most excellent performance was given, a piece of justice which new works seldom get. That the players liked the work is evident. It was, in fact, well known that they all anticipated the favourable verdict of the audience with confidence ... We thank Dr. Brodsky for the opportunity of hearing the work. May we hope to hear other works by Manchester composers?⁷⁸

Langford's final plea was answered later in the season with the first performance of the Piano Trio by Edward Isaacs, a recent graduate of the RMCM and subsequent Director of Manchester's Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, who at this stage was beginning to forge a career as a pianist. The audience was, on this occasion, a small one, owing, according to Langford, to "fog and the festivities connected with the Kaiser's birthday" – a remark which far outweighs its author's glibness in the clue it offers as to the proportion of Brodsky's audience which was drawn from Manchester's German community.⁷⁹ The critical vocabulary employed, which deemed the work "scholarly" and made comparisons with Hummel and Brahms, again suggests a certain stylistic conservatism. Isaacs had prepared his own analytical

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Brodsky Quartet Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 28 January 1909, p.4.

programme note; Langford however implies that great music, exemplified here by Beethoven's Quartet, op.131, needs no textual commentary: "Beethoven could not help... but break through the strictures of pedantic form. Nor does the listener need a strict musical understanding".⁸⁰ Langford was equally critical of Isaacs' Violin sonata when the composer premièred it with Brodsky in November 1910. While not denying it a certain melodic appeal, Langford was moved to refer back to the Trio in a less than complimentary tone.

When Mr. Isaacs's trio was given at these concerts, an index of its form was supplied to the audience. We were glad that the same plan was not followed last night, for that would have been to forestall our mechanical interest in the work, and its mechanical interest, unfortunately, was its chief one... Whatever is needed to "fertilise" musical composition, Mr. Isaacs has not yet used it sufficiently.⁸¹

Between the concerts featuring the Bonavia quartet and the Isaacs trio, a concert of December 1908 brought what stood to have been the most interesting innovation of the season.⁸² The death of Grieg in September 1907 had turned the opening concert of the 1907-8 season into a memorial to the composer, entailing a repeat of the String Quartet, op.27 which had already featured earlier in the year.⁸³ The final concert of 1908 saw the first UK performance of the two movements which Grieg had completed of a second quartet, the "old Norwegian cheese" which he had mentioned in his

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ "The Brodsky Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 November 1910, p.14.

⁸² 16 December 1908. The concert also included the first performance at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts of Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge*.

⁸³ 2 February 1907.

correspondence with Brodsky and which had been found among the composer's posthumous papers by Julius Röntgen. Brodsky must even at this stage have been aware of Röntgen's reconstruction of the sketches for the remaining movements as they are mentioned in a letter from Nina Grieg to Anna Brodsky of 6 December 1908, which also conveys her pleasure at the thought that Brodsky will play them too.⁸⁴

...the two quartet movements are pretty, especially the first, and I find the second goes well when played really rhythmically, so genuinely Norwegian... The whole quartet can otherwise now be considered as complete as the other... Röntgen has now also realised the two final movements from Edvard's sketches... They played all 4 movements here in the "Private Society for Chamber Music" to great acclaim... I can't describe how much I'd like to hear the Brodsky Quartet play them!⁸⁵

Nevertheless, Brodsky held off from performing the complete quartet in Röntgen's reconstruction until the following season, introducing it into his final concert of 1909. Whereas Nina Grieg felt the second movement to be "genuinely Norwegian", Bonavia, reviewing the 1908 performance, had found the first to contain "absolutely nothing which can be pointed at as typical of Norway".⁸⁶ Returning to the complete quartet a year later, while somewhat

⁸⁴ MS at Bergen: Griegsamling 0202034.

⁸⁵ "...die beiden Quartettsätze sind hübsch, besonders der erste, find ich auch der zweite wirkt wenn er recht rhythmisch gespielt wird. So recht norwegisch... Das ganzes Quartett ist ja so vollständig anders gedacht wie das andere... Röntgen hat jetzt auch die beiden letzten Sätze nach Edvards Skizzen fertig gemacht... Sie haben hier alle 4 Sätze im "Privat Kammermusikforening" unter grossem Jubel gespielt... Wie unbeschreiblich gern möchte ich das Quartett vom Brodsky Quartett gespielt!" Autograph letter from Nina Grieg to Anna Brodsky, 6 December 1908. RNCM AB/844.

⁸⁶ "Brodsky Quartet concert: a new work by Grieg". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 December 1908, p.9.

dismissive of the second movement as evincing “little that another composer, versed in Norwegian folk-tunes, and skilled in the treatment of chamber music, might not have written”, he felt the Grieg of the newly presented slow movement to be speaking with a new voice: “a feeling of awful loneliness which strikes much deeper than any other work or part of Grieg’s work we have ever heard”.⁸⁷ As to the performance, not for the first time the reader was invited to consider the extra dimension Brodsky was able to bring through his connection with the composer:

The performance was as we should have expected from a quartet led by one who has been united to Grieg by ties of close friendship ... seems to us always to come nearer to the ideal interpretation of Grieg’s music than the violinists of Western Europe.⁸⁸

The seasons leading up to the outbreak of war in 1914 brought a steady stream of new or hitherto unfamiliar works, among them quartets by Volkmann, Prohaska and Nováček, a piano quintet by Victor Merz and sonatas by Esposito and, suprisingly, Reger, a composer whom Anna Brodsky revealed to Nina Grieg appealed to neither her nor her husband.⁸⁹ Volkmann’s Quartet, op.43 and Esposito’s E minor Violin Sonata were programmed in the same concert in February 1910, together with the Beethoven Septet, which work, having long established its popularity with Manchester audiences, might have been included as the more obvious crowd-puller. The reviewer’s comment that “The scherzo was so warmly

⁸⁷ “The Brodsky Quartet concert”. *Manchester Guardian*: 2 December 1909, p.14. Nina Grieg had pointed out to Anna Brodsky that, unlike the finale, the *Adagio* was substantially by Grieg and that Röntgen had merely added some concluding bars.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Autograph letter from Anna Brodsky to Nina Grieg, 9 August 1911. Bergen: Griegsamling. 0237054.

received that it had to be played over again” would certainly support this view.⁹⁰ It also provided an opportunity for the same critic to take Beethoven as his yardstick in evaluating the new works in the programme. The finale of the quartet he deemed weak, “reflecting only what a Beethoven would place on the surface”, while the sonata, it was noted, “introduces a very pleasing intermezzo in place of the Adagio of Beethoven or Brahms”.⁹¹ He also hints at why the music might have appealed to Brodsky’s preference for the conservative in new music:

It is modern in the best sense – in its harmonic freedom and the piquancy of its themes... The sonata does not – and was probably never meant to – win new territories for the art of music, but to say pleasantly something that is not quite what others have said.⁹²

In the absence of further evidence, the regularity with which Brodsky programmed new repertoire in successive seasons might support the assumption that audiences were happy to receive it. Press reports offer few hints as to audience reaction and generally make no reference to the one factor which could offer a potential clue, namely audience sizes. Yet evidence elsewhere suggests that these were in decline. The RMCM *Minutes of Council* record each year how much surplus from the Brodsky Quartet concerts was donated to the college’s Sustentation Fund. By the turn of the century this was already into three figures, reaching a peak in the 1904-5 season, when the Council was able to minute a receipt of £165.5s.3d

⁹⁰ “Brodsky Quartet Concert”. *Manchester Guardian*: 24 February 1910, p.9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

(£165.26).⁹³ Yet thereafter annual figures up until the outbreak of war in 1914 reveal a fairly sharp and irreversible decline into single figures, as shown in the following table.

| Season | Surplus (£. s. d.) | (Approx. £. p.) | Venue |
|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 1900-1 | £101.14s.7d | (£101.73p) | Association Hall |
| 1901-2 | £113.19s.1p | (£113.95) | Association Hall |
| 1902-3 | £149.18s.8d | (£149.93) | Association Hall |
| 1903-4 | £145.17s.3d | (£145.86p) | Midland Hall |
| 1904-5 | £165. 5s. 3d | (£165.26) | Midland Hall |
| 1905-6 | £133.17s. 3d | (£133.86) | Association Hall |
| 1906-7 | £139. 0s. 6d | (£139.03) | Midland Hall |
| 1907-8 | £101. 4s. 7d | (£101.22) | Midland Hall |
| 1908-9 | £57. 2s. 8d | (£57.13) | Midland Hall |
| 1909-10 | £95. 1s. 5d | (£95.07) | Midland Hall |
| 1910-11 | £72. 6s. 4d | (£72.31) | Midland Hall |
| 1911-12 | £48. 13s. 1d | (£48.65) | Association Hall |
| 1912-13 | £64. 8s. 6d | (£64.42) | Lees Hall |
| 1913-14 | £77. 6s. 1d | (£77.30) | Lees Hall |

The initial drop in the 1905-6 season, and that between 1910-11 and 1911-12, are likely to be linked to the change of venue in those seasons from the Midland Hall back to the Association Hall in Peter Street, which necessitated a reduction in the cost of 6-concert subscription from £1 to 12/6 (62.5p) and an overall reduction in the range of differently priced seating areas. The Midland Hall was also expensive to hire. A contract for the 1904-5 season

⁹³ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 10 May 1905.

stipulates a fee of 60 guineas (£63) and attempts to hold Brodsky to a minimum single ticket price of 1/- (5p).⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the return to the Midland Hall between 1906 and 1911, and a concomitant restoration of its pricing scheme, appears to have failed to have engendered a reversal of the financial situation. From 1912-13 onwards the concerts moved to the economically more viable Lees Hall of the RMCM, where a subscription for six concerts was now 15/- (75p).

The sudden drop in income in the 1908-9 season is particularly striking and might offer a further clue as to why audience figures appeared to be in decline. Although Brodsky had shown from the outset that he intended to use the concerts as a vehicle for showcasing new repertoire, in the earlier seasons he had done so with a certain amount of caution, rationing the novelties to one of two per season or programming them to coincide with appearances by leading artists such as Busoni or Siloti. As the new century progressed he grew bolder. The low-earning 1908-9 season, for example, witnessed not only the Bonavia and Grieg quartets and Isaacs trio mentioned above, but the Manchester première of Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge* and the first performance at the Brodsky Quartet concerts of Smetana's E minor quartet. Did the presence of no less than five unfamiliar pieces in a single season prove too much of a box office risk? Brodsky continued to programme unfamiliar works, despite the failure of income to return to its turn-of-the-century levels and, moreover, despite a continued reliance on the Austro-German repertoire which had served him well in the past. Even the big

⁹⁴ RNCM AB/106.

names seemed to fail to attract audiences; the 1911-12 season was a noticeably poor earner despite the inclusion of a duo recital with Siloti.⁹⁵

The Brodsky Quartet Concerts were not an isolated case. Numerous contemporary references in the local press suggest that the problem of declining audiences, especially for chamber music, was being felt elsewhere. Already in 1908 the *Manchester Courier* ventured to say that “There is not a large public in Manchester for chamber music”.⁹⁶ The same year a correspondent in the *Manchester Guardian*, lamenting the poor attendance at a concert Thomas Beecham had given with the Hallé Orchestra, had voiced the opinion that “there appears to be, at the present time, a glut of entertainments in Manchester” and referred to the Brodsky Quartet Concerts as one of a growing number of events which vied for audiences’ attentions in the city centre.⁹⁷ His/her argument was that little or nothing was happening outside the centre and that “business people who spend all the day in a place like Manchester are glad enough usually to enjoy their recreative pursuits quite clear of the hum of a big city”.⁹⁸ One writer in the *Manchester Courier*, commenting on the smallness of the audience for a Brodsky Quartet Concert, let slip that even Brodsky himself had considered “abandoning his Quartet Concerts, not because of the comparative meagreness of public appeal, but for other more personal reasons”.⁹⁹ Brodsky was quick to refute his reasoning, but in his printed response he conceded that

⁹⁵ 28 February 1912.

⁹⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*. 26 November 1908, p.12.

⁹⁷ Arthur Hughes. “Manchester concerts”. Letter to the *Manchester Guardian*: 9 December 1908, p.3.

⁹⁹ “Brodsky Quartet Concerts”. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 21 December 1911, p.6.

...If the Brodsky Quartet gives up the Manchester concerts it will be entirely because the public gives up on the Brodsky concerts. We cannot go on if the public fails to support us.¹⁰⁰

In 1913 William Eller, later to become the first director of the Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, complained of “the steady falling off in subscriptions to the Hallé concerts” and “the still more marked falling off in support for the Brodsky Quartet Concerts”.¹⁰¹ He also singled out “The quite remarkable dislike shown by Manchester for any performers belonging to Manchester or neighbourhood”.¹⁰²

One correspondent signing him/herself only as “an English lover of music” saw the problem as having arisen because “the support for music in Manchester is mainly from the large colony of Germans residing there. They... with but few exceptions, really care about the production of music”.¹⁰³ The message here is mixed. The self-identification with English culture and the conscious distancing implied by the description of Manchester’s Germans in terms of colonial alterity nevertheless concedes that the fault lies not with the latter, but with the writer’s fellow Englishmen and women. His/her comment also contains a certain irony, since the previous year had witnessed the demise of the one cultural institution which could count on the patronage of the German community as its *raison d’être*. In 1904 the Schiller-Anstalt had announced the new season’s four concerts would take place “provided

¹⁰⁰ Adolph Brodsky. “To the Editor of the Manchester Courier”. Letter to the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 22 December 1911, p.9.

¹⁰¹ William Eller. Letter to the *Manchester Guardian*: 7 October 1913, p.13.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ “An English lover of music”. Letter to the *Manchester Guardian*: 7 October 1913, p.13.

the number of subscriptions is sufficient to cover expenses".¹⁰⁴ From thereon the number of overseas artists appearing in its concerts decreased in favour of a preference for those native or local artists whom Eller had claimed Manchester audiences apparently disliked. In the 1908-9 season the number of concerts was reduced from four to three. The end came suddenly.

Advertising its 1911-12 season, the Schiller-Anstalt notified its patrons that:

Pending the proposed reconstruction of the Club, the hall of the Schiller-Anstalt is not available. The concerts hitherto given there will be continued at the new Milton Hall, 244 Deansgate.¹⁰⁵

These concerts were the last to take place under the auspices of the Schiller-Anstalt. While it might be argued that the outbreak of war might have taken its toll on Manchester's German concertgoers anyway, evidence such as the closure of the Schiller-Anstalt and the above-cited remarks in the Manchester press's correspondence columns suggest that the war accelerated rather than engendered a falling off of interest in concert attendance and that the fluctuating fortunes of the Brodsky Quartet concerts were but a symptom of a larger problem. After the outbreak of war, in the early months of 1915 Samuel Langford summed up the problems faced by Manchester's chamber music culture as follows:

The war seems so violently to have affected the liking for music that not only is the supply of chamber music cut off but appreciation has been strangely lacking for the few chamber concerts we have had...

The sense that in quartet-writing music is near to becoming an artifice,

¹⁰⁴ MCL R780.69 Me81.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

appealing chiefly to the initiated and the “Fancier”, steals over the most musical occasionally.¹⁰⁶

If that were so, then little appears to have changed since his predecessor had noted at the inception of the Brodsky Quartet concerts – as cited above – that “Especially quartets and... compositions for strings alone... may be regarded as unfit for all but that narrow section of the public who are capable of enjoying with brain as well as nerves”.¹⁰⁷ For all his efforts to broaden the repertoire which his audiences heard, Brodsky might well have been preaching to the converted all along.

There were no Brodsky Quartet concerts in 1915. There could not be, as both Brodsky and Fuchs were interned on the continent as enemy aliens. It was to prove a watershed, not simply on a personal level for the individuals involved, but for the Brodsky Quartet and the tradition of Manchester music-making which they represented. Chapter 7 will deal with the very different experiences of Brodsky and Fuchs in their enforced absence from Manchester, while Chapter 8 returns to the final Brodsky Quartet Concerts and the difficulties faced by Brodsky in re-establishing their pre-war status. As narratives of the final years of Brodsky’s professional career, they reveal his failure to grasp just how significant an effect the First World War was to have on chamber music in Manchester. The next chapter aims to show the extent to which his allegiance to an Austro-German repertoire was to contribute to the cultural dilemmas faced by a city now having to confront the cultural values of its own “German colony”.

¹⁰⁶ “The Edith Robinson Quartet concert”. *Manchester Guardian*: 15 March 1915, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ “The Brodsky Quartet concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*: 1 December 1896, p.5.

Chapter 6

Brodsky, Beethoven and the Brotherhood

In the ... broad district included under the name Ancoats, stand the largest mills in Manchester lining the canals, colossal six and seven-storied buildings towering with their chimneys far above the low cottages of the workers. The population of the district consists, therefore, chiefly of mill hands and, in the worst streets, of hand weavers. The streets nearest the heart of the town and the oldest, and consequently the worst... Farther to the north-east lie many newly built-up streets, here the cottages look neat and cleanly...the vacant building lots between them larger and more numerous. But this can be said of a minority of the houses only, while cellar dwellings are to be found under almost every cottage; many streets are unpaved and without sewers, and worst of all, this neat appearance is all pretence... For the construction of the cottages individually is no less to be condemned than the plan of the streets. All such cottages look neat and substantial at first, their massive brick construction deceives the eye, and, on passing through a newly-built working-men's street, one is inclined to agree with the assertion of the Liberal manufacturers that the working population is nowhere so well housed as in England. But on closer examination it becomes evident that the walls of these cottages are as thin as it is possible to make them.¹

Ancoats is an area to the east of Manchester's city centre, in the hinterland behind Victoria Station, roughly enclosed by the angle of the railway line and

¹ Friedrich Engels. *The condition of the working class in England in 1844*. Tr. Florence K. Wischnewetzky. [S.l.:] Allen and Unwin, 1892, pp.56-57.

Great Ancoats Street and intersected by two main thoroughfares, the Oldham and Rochdale Roads. By the time Engels came to write *The condition of the working classes in England in 1844*, quoted above, it had already established itself, at least in demographic terms, as one of the poorest of the city's inner suburbs. In the course of the nineteenth century its native population was swelled by numbers of Italian immigrants, earning it the nickname of Manchester's "Little Italy".² To these were added Irish immigrants escaping the potato famine of the late 1840s. This accounted for the high percentage of Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic churches in the area.

Commercially, it was one of the city's most successful areas, owing to its high concentration of mills, which in turn benefitted from the proximity of the Rochdale and Ashton Canals and the River Medlock and which provided the chief means of employment for those who lived there. Culturally, it was one of the least likely to nurture a longstanding series of chamber concerts which could moreover count on the Brodsky Quartet as regular performers.

The Quartet's involvement with the Ancoats Brotherhood, an enterprise founded specifically to address the lack of cultural activity in the Ancoats district, was, however, to prove a twin-edged sword. While undoubtedly able to provide the Brotherhood with a musical counterpart to the high-profile speakers it engaged, it eventually also attracted a type of audience different from that which the Brotherhood set out to address. Furthermore, as the organisation's cultural agenda became increasingly compromised by anti-German sentiment in the approach to and during the First World War, Brodsky's own preferences in terms of repertoire were to become part of the problem. As a case study, the widening gulf between Brodsky's allegiance to

² C.f. Anthony Rea and Neil Richardson. *Manchester's little Italy: memories of the Italian colony of Ancoats*. Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1988.

those preferences and the direction in which the Brotherhood found itself moving reveals an important strand in the growing distance between Brodsky and trends in Manchester's chamber music which coloured the trajectory of his post-war career.

In drawing attention to the way in which the development of Manchester's cultural life in the nineteenth century paralleled its industrial and commercial expansion, several writers have questioned the notion that both followed quite different trajectories. John Seed, for example, has discussed the role of the city's emergent middle classes as patrons of the visual arts.³ Elsewhere, writers such as Richard Roberts⁴ and John K. Walton have examined the role of middle class patronage when exercised through local government.⁵

Their analysis is particularly relevant here, since it was partly through his involvement in local government that one individual was to exercise his concern for the cultural life of people of Ancoats. Charles Rowley (1839-1933) was a native of the area. His early career and rise to political consciousness is chronicled in his autobiographical *Fifty years of work without wages*.⁶ Born in 1839 as one of the thirteen children of a father who was present at Peterloo and who became a director of Manchester Mechanics'

³ John Seed. "Commerce and the liberal arts: the political economy of art in Manchester, 1775-1860". Janet Wolff and John Seed, eds. *The capital of culture: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, pp. 45-82.

⁴ Richard Roberts. "The Corporation as impresario: the municipal provision of entertainment in Victorian and Edwardian Bournemouth". John K. Walton and James Walvin, eds. *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983, pp.137-158.

⁵ John K. Walton. "Municipal government and the holiday industry in Blackpool, 1876-1914". *ibid.*, pp.159-186.

⁶ C.f. Charles Rowley. *Fifty years of work without wages: (laborare est orare)*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1900.

Institute, he served his time in the workshops of Ancoats and helped run soup kitchens during the Cotton Famine of the 1860s. Politically a socialist of marked Fabian leanings, he was elected as a council member for Ancoats in 1875, serving, among other things, on the Sanitation Committee, through which he established public baths and wash-houses. He was a firm believer in bringing the arts to the people. He organised band concerts – later taken over by the corporation – and was instrumental in setting up the Manchester Art Museum in Ancoats. He was also the founder of Recreation in Ancoats, later to become the Ancoats Brotherhood, an educational enterprise dedicated to bringing the arts to the working class communities of the area. Its musical activities included a series of regular concerts with which the Brodsky Quartet and its individual members were subsequently to become involved.

We know little of Brodsky's own political sympathies, and his own comments on his involvement with the Brotherhood are confined to a much later report of remarks made on the occasion of one of several receptions held at Manchester Town Hall for those involved with the Brotherhood.

Dr. Brodsky said that for twenty years he had been accustomed to assist the work every year. It was one of the hardships of his internment in Austria that he could not keep his engagements at Ancoats. "I challenge any audience to listen to great works of chamber music with the same understanding as this audience does" said Dr. Brodsky. "It is not the understanding of the critic. They understand with their hearts and the critics only with their minds".⁷

⁷ "Recreation in Ancoats. Thirty-eight years' work". *Manchester Guardian*: 26 June 1915, p.5.

In contrast, Anna Brodsky is known to have had distinct left-wing sympathies. Despite hailing from an affluent Russian family, Anna and her sister defied parental opposition to study in Paris. Here she developed an interest in socialism and at one point became engaged to a fellow socialist. She later made a visit to Liverpool to pursue her political interests, intending to find work as a chamber maid. Neither bore fruit.⁸ Anna was also sympathetic to the movement for women's suffrage. Her support for the suffragette movement is confirmed by a report in the *Manchester Guardian* in which she is recorded as being among those "in sympathy but unable to attend" a meeting of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage.⁹ She was also to address the Ancoats Brotherhood on the subject of contemporary Russian politics, particularly after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Rowley's venture was initiated in 1881 as "Recreation in Ancoats". According to Rowley himself

In the autumn of 1881 we started a Sunday afternoon meeting in the New Islington Hall. Sir Henry Roscoe, F.R.S. gave the first lecture, the subject being "John Dalton". We had some music each day and met from three to five. These afternoons were a great success from the first. We got together from five to nine hundred people, mostly men. Not going for the rhetorical or popular in any way, we have avoided the dry, the pompous and the patronising...¹⁰

⁸ The account is given in Anna Brodsky. *Recollections of a Russian home: a musician's experience*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1904. Rep. 1914, pp.84-85.

⁹ "Women's suffrage. Manchester and the Conciliation Bill. Free-Trade Hall meeting". *Manchester Guardian*: 26 October 1910, p.7.

¹⁰ Rowley. Op. cit., p.199.

In 1889 the programme was expanded to include activities such as rambling and cycling and became the Ancoats Brotherhood, but the pattern of Sunday meetings was retained. Guest speakers would deliver their lecture in the morning, to be followed by a musical entertainment in the afternoon.

Surviving programmes reveal the lectures as bearing out Rowley's claim to have avoided the "rhetorical or popular", preferring instead themes of a political, philosophical, ethical or moral nature. Rowley was also able to draw on high profile names who were known to him and who shared his political sympathies. Speakers from the 1890s include Henry Simon on *Cremation* – one of the few papers to have survived through publication - Richard Pankhurst on *Federation, citizenship, ethics* and the *Manchester Guardian's* music critic Arthur Johnstone on *Beethoven*.¹¹ There are early signs too, in lectures on Nelson, General Gordon and *True patriotism*, of an emphasis on national identity which was to grow over the coming years and which suggests a subtext whereby native values were progressively instilled into a largely immigrant audience. The liberal *Manchester Guardian* took a keen interest in the activities of the Brotherhood, reporting regularly on the contents of the Sunday morning lectures, although paying considerably less attention to the Ancoats Concerts. A similar weighting is also found in the coverage of Manchester's other main newspaper, the *Manchester Courier*.

According to Rowley, the musicians who performed at the Ancoats meetings gave their services free.¹² Early programmes held at Manchester Public

¹¹ Henry Simon. *Cremation: a lecture written for the Ancoats Brotherhood, Manchester*. Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1892.

¹² "Quite as fortunate have we been in our music... Here the list of kind and voluntary helpers is endless." Charles Rowley. Op. cit. p.199 et seq. There is however a suggestion that speakers were paid, or at least received expenses. An account of the 1914 Annual General Meeting noted that "the expenses of lectures amounted to

Library show that both men and women took part, although the latter appeared almost entirely as singers or pianists. One name that appears consistently in these early concerts is that of Carl Fuchs. Fuchs's role as organiser of the Schiller-Anstalt concerts has already been alluded to. He was also to emerge as the prime administrator of the Brodsky Quartet, although the lack of any direct correspondence leaves a question mark over the extent of the influence he was able to bring to bear in the planning of the Ancoats recitals. The numerous instances in which they became a vehicle for his own performances might however offer a clue.

The earlier programmes from the 1880s and early 1890s consist primarily of several short pieces, with more substantial works represented as often as not by only a selection of movements. In this they present a contrast to what was still, at this stage, Manchester's chief platform for chamber music, the socially exclusive Gentlemen's Concerts. What the two do have in common is a preference for works drawn from the Austro-German canon. Composers represented prior to the first appearances of the Brodsky Quartet at Ancoats include J.S. Bach, Ferdinand David, Karl Anton Eckert, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Schubert, Handel, Schumann, David Popper, Haydn, Bruch and Brahms. These account for over half the known works performed, with Beethoven the most performed within this group. Several of the remaining pieces are moreover by composers on the fringes of the Austro-German tradition, such as Rheinberger, Liszt and Gade. Those standing wholly outside it are almost entirely represented by songs.

£7.10s [£7.50]". "Ancoats Brotherhood. The Annual General Meeting". *Manchester Guardian*: 2 March 1914, p.11.

The Brodsky Quartet first appeared at the Ancoats concerts on 15 November 1896; a month before the first of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and almost exactly a year since their debut at the Schiller-Anstalt.¹³ Their programme also remained faithful to the Austro-German canon, consisting as it did of movements from Schubert's *Death and the maiden* quartet and the first of Beethoven's *Rasumovsky* quartets. The Quartet's next recital, in February 1898, took a more novel form. Arthur Johnstone, music critic of the *Manchester Guardian*, lectured on Beethoven, with musical examples played by the Brodsky Quartet and pianist Sydney Vantyn of the Liège Conservatoire. Such a radical fusion of the spoken and performed sections of the Brotherhood's proceedings stands in marked contrast to other programmes, where the two still retain their independence and the musical component remains a selection of shorter pieces with no apparent interconnection. This departure moreover created a precedent for similar lecture recitals. For example, in February 1908 Fuchs was to lecture on *Beethoven and the violoncello*, assisted by the pianist Edward Isaacs and the violinist and Brodsky pupil Arthur Catterall.¹⁴ That same year audiences were also treated, *inter alia*, to Mrs. Cobden Sanderson on *Citizenship for women* and Mr. Coulthurst on *Sunshine and snow in the Bernese Oberland – with optical lantern*.

¹³ Full details of the contributions made by Brodsky and the Brodsky Quartet to the Concerts at the Ancoats Brotherhood are given in Appendix 2.

¹⁴ Arthur Catterall was a native of Preston and showed early talent as a violinist. The *Preston Guardian* for 18 January 1890 carries a report that at a display organised by the St. John's Ambulance Brigade "A very young but highly gifted little boy, Arthur Catterall by name... then fairly delighted the audience by his performance on the violin. Though only six and a half years old, he played... with genuine skill, and in pretty style". *Preston Guardian*, 4005, 18 January 1890, p.5. While still a boy he entered the RMCM in 1894, studying initially with Willy Hess and, after Hess's departure, with Adolph Brodsky. He joined the staff of the RMCM in 1907. In his later career he was a distinguished soloist and chamber musician.

By the start of the new century the Brodsky Quartet had become regular performers at the Ancoats Brotherhood, giving at least one annual concert, usually near the start of the year. By now they usually played complete works rather than excerpts, although their repertoire remained notably small and principally Austro-German facing. The 'cellist Henry Smith, known to Fuchs and Speelman from Henry Rensburg's concerts in Liverpool, joined them in February 1900 for the Schubert String Quintet, heard with Beethoven's op.18 no.6. The following year it was *Death and the maiden* again, with Beethoven's String Quintet, op.29, that favourite work of Brodsky's which he had performed several times in Leipzig and where, as noted in Chapter 2, its status as a rarity was commented on in local press reviews. In the 22 Ancoats concerts recorded as having been given by the Quartet between 1900 and early 1914, only fifteen composers are represented, of which Beethoven, with 25 performances, is far and away the commonest.¹⁵ Schubert comes second with nine – still mostly of the String quintet or *Death and the maiden*. There are six pieces each by Mozart and Haydn, five by Mendelssohn, two each by Brahms and Bach and one by Schumann.¹⁶ Less familiar works include those by composers whom Brodsky had championed in Leipzig: Volkmann, Tchaikovsky and Grieg, the last represented by both the G minor quartet and the posthumous F major. This was programmed with the Schubert quintet, where the extra 'cellist was Julius Klengel, a member of Brodsky's quartet in Leipzig and thus a more tangible link with Brodsky's European circle. The posthumous Grieg quartet offers one of numerous examples of Brodsky's duplicating repertoire heard at his own Quartet

¹⁵ The Brodsky Quartet gave a cycle of six concerts in January and February 1914.

¹⁶ Movements from the G major 'Cello suite and a "Prelude and fugue in G minor" for violin and piano – possibly a version (Schumann's?) of the opening movements of BWV.1001.

Concerts, the close proximity of several performances suggesting that he was normally able to expect a different audience for each venue.

Brodsky's concentration on the predominantly canonic Austro-German repertoire did not only demonstrate his own preferences but appears to have found an echo in those of the Brotherhood's founder. Rowley's testimony to the success of the Brotherhood, quoted above, singles out Beethoven in the context of "the best of the fine arts". Beethoven is also the only composer to have been accorded the honour of forming the subject of an Ancoats lecture. In addition to those already mentioned, a lecture on Beethoven was given by a Mr. T.W. Surette in October 1911, on which occasion the programme carried a quote from Spitta:

A perfectly lucid musical vitality, sufficient always unto itself, is to be found only in Mozart: Haydn and Beethoven are more open to poetic influences, Beethoven very much more than Haydn.¹⁷

...and from Tchaikovsky:

Mozart reaches neither the depths nor the heights of Beethoven. And since in life too, he remained a careless child, his music has not that subjective tragic quality which is so powerfully expressed in that of Beethoven.¹⁸

T. Whitney Surette was a staff lecturer on music for the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. He had previously given a series of lectures on the Beethoven symphonies in conjunction with a Beethoven cycle given by Hans Richter with the Hallé Orchestra in 1907, on which occasion he

¹⁷ Ancoats Brotherhood programme, 31 October 1911.

¹⁸ Ibid.

was introduced by Rowley.¹⁹ In the 1880s Rowley presented to Manchester University a series of twelve panels by Ford Madox Brown – a personal acquaintance – depicting leaders in the arts and sciences. Many are from antiquity, the middle ages or Renaissance: Homer, Cicero, Aristotle, Bacon, Michelangelo and Shakespeare. The only “modern”, representing music, is Beethoven.

In *Fifty years of work without wages*, Rowley took pains to counter any suggestion that the concerts and lectures given at the Ancoats Brotherhood were either poorly attended or that their content was beyond the understanding of those who heard them.

Many criticisms have, of course, been launched at our doings over the last thirty-five years. The bare idea of giving Beethoven, the best of the fine arts, noble lectures...in a purely working-class district!! Most of this peddling fault-finding has been indulged in by people who never come to us and have really no idea what superb audiences we gather, audiences from which the finest musicians and speakers of our time assure us that constantly they draw attention.²⁰

He also cites testimonies from those who attended, such as this from Fred Walker, described as a wire drawer in an Ancoats workshop:

To say what the Ancoats Recreation movement has been to me would be to give an account of the social and educational sides of my life for

¹⁹ C.f. “Beethoven’s symphonies. Mr. Surette’s explanatory lecture”. *Manchester Guardian*: 30 September 1907, p.7.

²⁰ Rowley. *Op. cit.* p.211.

the past twenty-one years, so strongly has the Ancoats Recreation movement influenced me.²¹

...or R. Cross, a commercial traveller:

I often am amazed when I think how much I owe to those meetings in Ancoats. Unlike most other organisations, "Ancoats" touches life at every point. I was like thousands of other young men who are without any definite plan, and are aimlessly drifting along. It is just at that stage where the movement you founded becomes of such value.²²

Reviewing the meeting which relaunched the project as the Ancoats Brotherhood in March 1889, the *Manchester Guardian* recorded further testimony from Rowley as to the success of his venture. More significantly it reported his admission of the Brotherhood's activities having their own pro-nationalist, patriotic agenda.

...audiences ranged from a thousand to four hundred, and many of these were regular members... why should they not meet and talk about subjects upon which they wanted to form just and workable opinions?... All social subjects which interested them as neighbours and citizens might be faced. Had they any local patriotism, or even truly national patriotism? ²³

The theme of "national patriotism" was taken up elsewhere. A lecture entitled simply *Patriotism*, given by the barrister A. Woodroffe Fletcher shortly after the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith in the Boer War,

²¹ Ibid. pp.217-8.

²² Ibid. pp.218-9.

²³ *Manchester Guardian*: 5 March 1889, p.12.

distinguished “the patriotism of the last few weeks [which] was based on a very lofty principle of morality or conduct” with “what they heard now [which] was not so much national patriotism as Imperial patriotism in very large letters”.²⁴ Imperial patriotism, defined as “the increasing of the Empire’s borders and the swallowing-up of small nations which followed as a consequence, was not a policy consistent with the brotherhood of the human race”.²⁵ Five years later an address by Manchester University’s Professor Sadler deplored the failure to instil patriotic values in the nation’s schools, not merely because young children possessed impressionable minds, but because “...in those schools where we were dealing with newly arrived immigrants it was desirable to do more than we were doing to let them know what the conditions were in the country into which... they had come”.²⁶

In *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, Jonathan Rose has warned against popular assumptions that educational movements such as that at Ancoats were wholly motivated by a patronising middle class “we know what’s good for you” attitude.²⁷ The above-quoted remarks would suggest that the Ancoats Brotherhood viewed itself as addressing a working class clientele as much in the role of arbiter of political or nationalist sympathies as of inculcating cultural values. Despite this, there is evidence that by the first decade of the twentieth century the Brotherhood’s activities were becoming

²⁴ “Ancoats Brotherhood and patriotism”. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 12 March 1900, p.10. The relief of Kimberley had taken place on 15 February, that of Ladysmith on 28 February.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ “Teaching of patriotism. Address by Professor Sadler”. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 6 March 1905, p.8.

²⁷ Jonathan Rose, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

less concerned with the education of Ancoats' working class than with massaging the consciences of a liberal intellectual bourgeoisie for whom being seen to support the Ancoats Brotherhood was as much a social statement as attendance at the Gentleman's Concerts had once been for their patrons. In November 1906 the *Manchester Courier* published a lengthy but anonymous attack on Rowley and the Brotherhood, citing it as a venture which had long since left its original aims behind. The writer targeted the Brotherhood's concerts in particular.

The civilisation of Ancoats has now been going on apace for so long that it is time a protest were raised against the idea that Ancoats now requires it. The well-dressed people who make incursions thither... where they sit and flatter themselves that they are doing a good work, but their self-sacrifice in appreciating the fine music... is fully rewarded by their receiving an entertainment free that would mean cabs, evening dress and gold in Peter Street.²⁸

While generous in his praise for the high standard of both the Ancoats concerts and its lectures, he questioned the Brotherhood's alleged aims.

The mental pabulum... is too strong for the palate of the men and women who left school in the Fourth and Fifth Standards, ten, fifteen, twenty years ago. Therefore objection is taken to this patting of Ancoats on the back... this swooping down of silks and satins on a maligned district... the committee is now more or less a medium for the provision of splendid concerts... and excellent reproductions in miniature of the correct in art... But they are all now pretty well to do,

²⁸ "What's in a name?". *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 17 November 1906, p.10. The reference to Peter Street alludes to the site of the Free Trade Hall, in which the Hallé concerts took place.

the poorest not very poor, and the man who does not go out of Ancoats is not one of them... The Sunday afternoons are chiefly those who may have had – “A dinner not severely plain, a pint or two of really good champagne”.²⁹

The above implies that this new breed of audience did not merely sit alongside the attentive mill workers of Ancoats, but effectively replaced them. This tension between the kind of working class audience envisaged by Rowley and the affluent middle class audience which the Brotherhood's concerts eventually came to attract created one of a number of moral dilemmas which presented themselves during the history of the organisation. There is a suggestion that this audience too must have contained members of the German community which patronised the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and those at the Schiller-Anstalt. It was presumably to them that Captain Schlagintweit, the German Consul in Manchester, addressed his own view of patriotism in January 1913, appealing to “Germans who became naturalised Englishmen not to forget or to deny the land of their birth” and urging the individual “never to forget the race from which he springs...” and to “devote all his spare energies to acting as mediator, conciliator and interpreter between his old and his adopted country”.³⁰ The most striking dichotomy, however, is a predominantly musical one and thus one in which Brodsky and his quartet were most directly implicated. It lies not only in the kind of pro-German repertoire which the patriotically-orientated Rowley deemed acceptable for his

²⁹ Ibid. The quotation is from *After Horace* by A.D. Godley, first published in his *Lyra Frivola* of 1899.

³⁰ “Unpatriotic Germans. Consul's appeal to his fellow countrymen”. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 10 January 1913, p.13. The address to the Brotherhood on 5 January was entitled “Leaves from a Consul's notebook and his wife Therese sang in the concert which followed.

patrons, but in the continued allegiance to that repertoire amid the growing tendency, prior to and during the First World War, for notions of patriotism to metamorphose into an anti-Germanic jingoism.

Herein lies a paradox for, despite such a wealth of German music in the Brotherhood's programmes, they are noticeably lacking in complementary lectures on other aspects of German culture. Throughout the Edwardian years one looks in vain among the lectures which were regularly given on other foreign cultures, such as Hilaire Belloc on "Modern France",³¹ Councillor Butterworth on "The Canadian outlook",³² or the Rev. Hudson Shaw on "Ravenna".³³ Plenty of lectures also promulgated a more nationalist outlook: the Dean of Ely on "An ideal church, from the Church of England point of view",³⁴ a series of six lectures on "The works of Chaucer",³⁵ Philip Carr on "The National Theatre movement",³⁶ or Belloc again on "The battle of Crecy: its importance in military history".³⁷ Yet, in Rowley's agenda of inculcating national pride which such lectures were intended to support, was there any celebration of British music beyond a handful of songs and slighter piano pieces by composers such as Vaughan Williams, Bantock, Landon Ronald and Cyril Scott, all of them largely the preserve of female performers? However, any suggestion that the Brotherhood was intrinsically anti-German at this period is countered by the fact that since before the turn of the century it had organised regular trips to Germany for its members – presumably the

³¹ 17 January 1904.

³² 21 January 1906.

³³ 13 January 1909.

³⁴ 18 January 1903.

³⁶ 23 January 1910.

³⁷ 22 January 1911.

affluent incomers who could afford it rather than the mill workers of Ancoats.

In 1913 the *Manchester Courier* was able to report that:

Thirty-seven members of the Ancoats Brotherhood left London Road Station yesterday afternoon en route for a week's visit to North Germany. It was the fifteenth party of its kind organised by the Brotherhood...³⁸

Then, on 23 February 1913, in the programme which lists the Manchester Trio as playing music by Brahms, Schumann and Beethoven, this appeared.³⁹



Fig.1 – Teutonic satire

Headed "Teutonic satire", the caption reads:

³⁸ "Manchester day by day". *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*. 12 May 1913, p.4.

³⁹ The Manchester Trio was Edward Issacs (piano), Arthur Catterall (violin) and Carl Fuchs ('cello).

Hostess: *Oh, pray don't leave off Mr. Rosencranz... That was a lovely song you just began!*

Eminent baritone: *Yes matame... Bot it tit not harmonise viz de cheneral gonverzation. It is in B vlat, and your and your vrends are talking in G! I haf a song in F, and a song in A sharp... bot I haf no song in G!*

Accompanist: *Ach – berhaps to obliche matame, I could transpose de aggompaniments – ja!*

The implication here was that Germans might have given us great music, but that it was also acceptable to make fun of them. Of course, by 1913, Germans were more than just people deemed to have a strange sense of humour, which doubtless explains why this cartoon appeared in the first place. Some of the Ancoats lecture topics were already beginning to reflect the growing tension between Britain and Germany, both in adopting an overtly political tone and in giving yet more prominence to nationalist or patriotic subjects. In December 1913, when Dr. David Starr Jordan spoke on “War and manhood”, the programme reproduced an (uncredited) article “The case of Herr Brandt and the octopus of appeasement”, highlighting Karl Liebknecht’s role in blowing the whistle on false statistics used to stimulate the German arms trade.⁴⁰ The following month the Dean of Manchester spoke on “Democracy, its merits and its dangers”.⁴¹ At the same time the Brodsky Quartet began a series of six recitals consisting entirely of music by Haydn, Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, Schumann, Brahms, Mendelssohn and

⁴⁰ 7 December 1913.

⁴¹ 11 January 1913.

Bach – with a single quartet by Tchaikovsky as the token non-Austro-German work.⁴²

After war was declared in August 1914, the Ancoats Brotherhood swung into anti-German mode with a vengeance. From here on the attacks on German culture became more frequent if, in the case of German music, selective. On 25 October it reproduced “The divine mission of the Kaiser. Proclamation to his Eastern Army. The devil is his God”.

Remember you are the elect people. The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans. I am the Instrument of the Almighty... Destruction and death to all who resist my will, destruction and death to those who do not believe in my mission; destruction and death to cowards. May all the enemies of the German people perish. God demands their destruction. God, who speaks through me, commands you to execute his will.⁴³

The Ancoats Brotherhood was well aware of the scale of what was to come: The lecture for that day was “Armageddon and after” by Mr. B.N. Langton-Davies.

The British had their own idea of whose side the Almighty was on. The day after the declaration of war on 4 August, *The Times* printed Henry Newbolt’s poem “The vigil”.

ENGLAND! where the sacred flame
Burns before the inmost shrine,
Where the lips that love thy name
Consecrate their hopes and thine,
Where the banners of thy dead

⁴² Brodsky had recently returned from Vienna, where he had given the Viennese première of Elgar’s Violin Concerto on 5 January.

⁴³ This had appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*: 12 October 1914, p.10.

Weave their shadows overhead,
 Watch beside thine arms to-night,
 Pray that God defend the Right.

Think that when to-morrow comes
 War shall claim command of all,
 Thou must hear the roll of drums,
 Thou must hear the trumpet's call.
 Now, before thy silence ruth,
 Commune with the voice of truth;
 England! on thy knees to-night
 Pray that God defend the Right.

Single-hearted, unafraid,
 Hither all thy heroes came,
 On this altar's steps were laid
 Gordon's life and Outram's fame.
 England! if thy will be yet
 By their great example set,
 Here beside thine arms to-night
 Pray that God defend the Right.

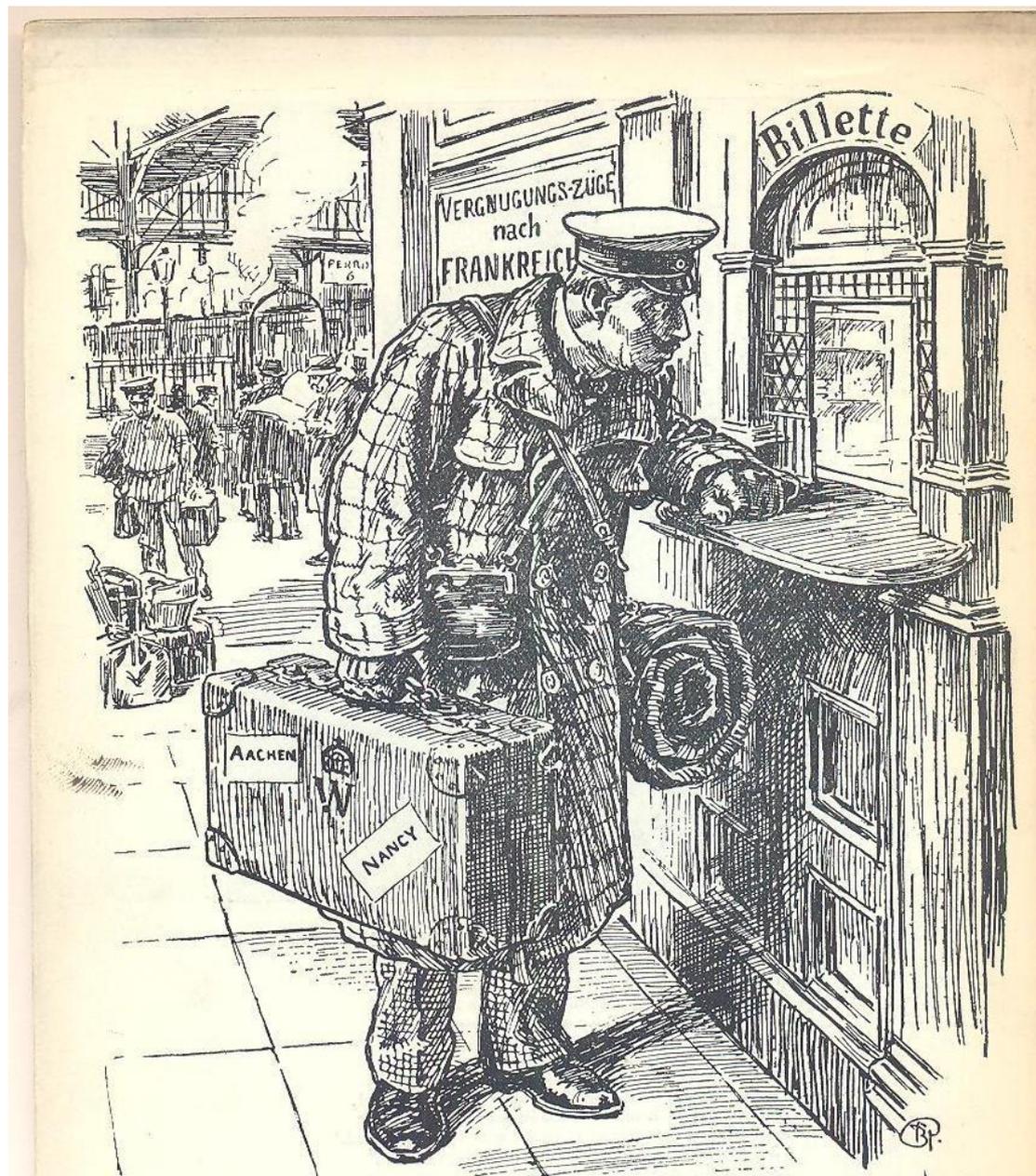
So shalt thou when morning comes
 Rise to conquer or to fall,
 Joyful hear the rolling drums,
 Joyful hear the trumpets call,
 Then let Memory tell thy heart:
 "England! what thou wert, thou art!"
 Gird thee with thine ancient might,
 Forth! and God defend the Right!

A month later an (uncredited) article was reproduced attacking German housing policy as vastly inferior to that in Britain, including the footnote "Let us hear no more of German "Kultur", or progress in education".⁴⁴

There were more cartoons as well, some overtly anti-German⁴⁵

⁴⁴ 15 November 1914. Mrs. Annot Robinson spoke on "The family group and modern conditions".

⁴⁵ Programme for 28 February 1915.



THE EXCURSIONIST.

Scene: Ticket Office at ——— (censored).

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| TRIPPER WILHELM: "First Class to Paris." | CLERK: "Line blocked." |
| WILHELM: "Then make it Warsaw." | CLERK: "Line blocked." |
| WILHELM: "Well, what about Calais." | CLERK: "Line blocked." |
| WILHELM: "Hang it! I must go somewhere! I promised my people I would." | |

Fig.2 – The Excursionist

Below are two of many printed in the schedule of events for March 1915.⁴⁶

“The triumph of ‘culture’ ” parodies a scene from *Macbeth* (The murder of Lady Macduff and her children).

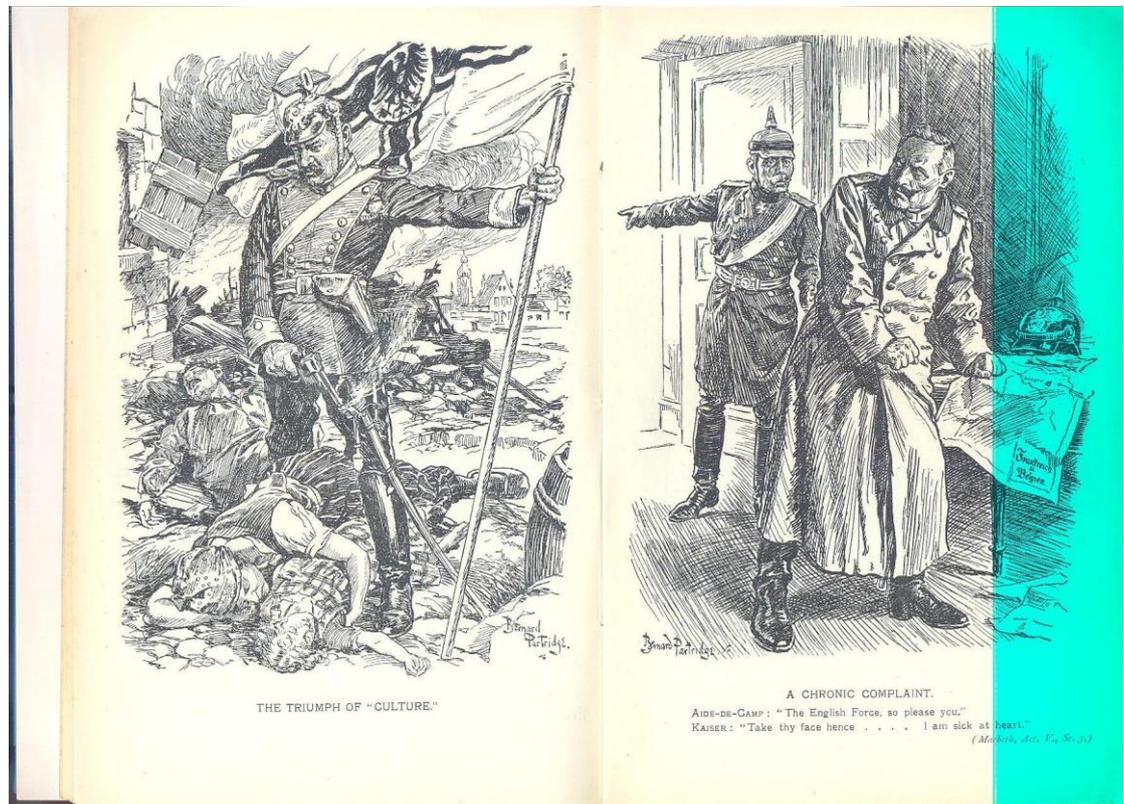


Fig.3 – The Triumph of Culture

⁴⁶ Programme for 15 March 1915.

Other cartoons were pro-British.⁴⁷

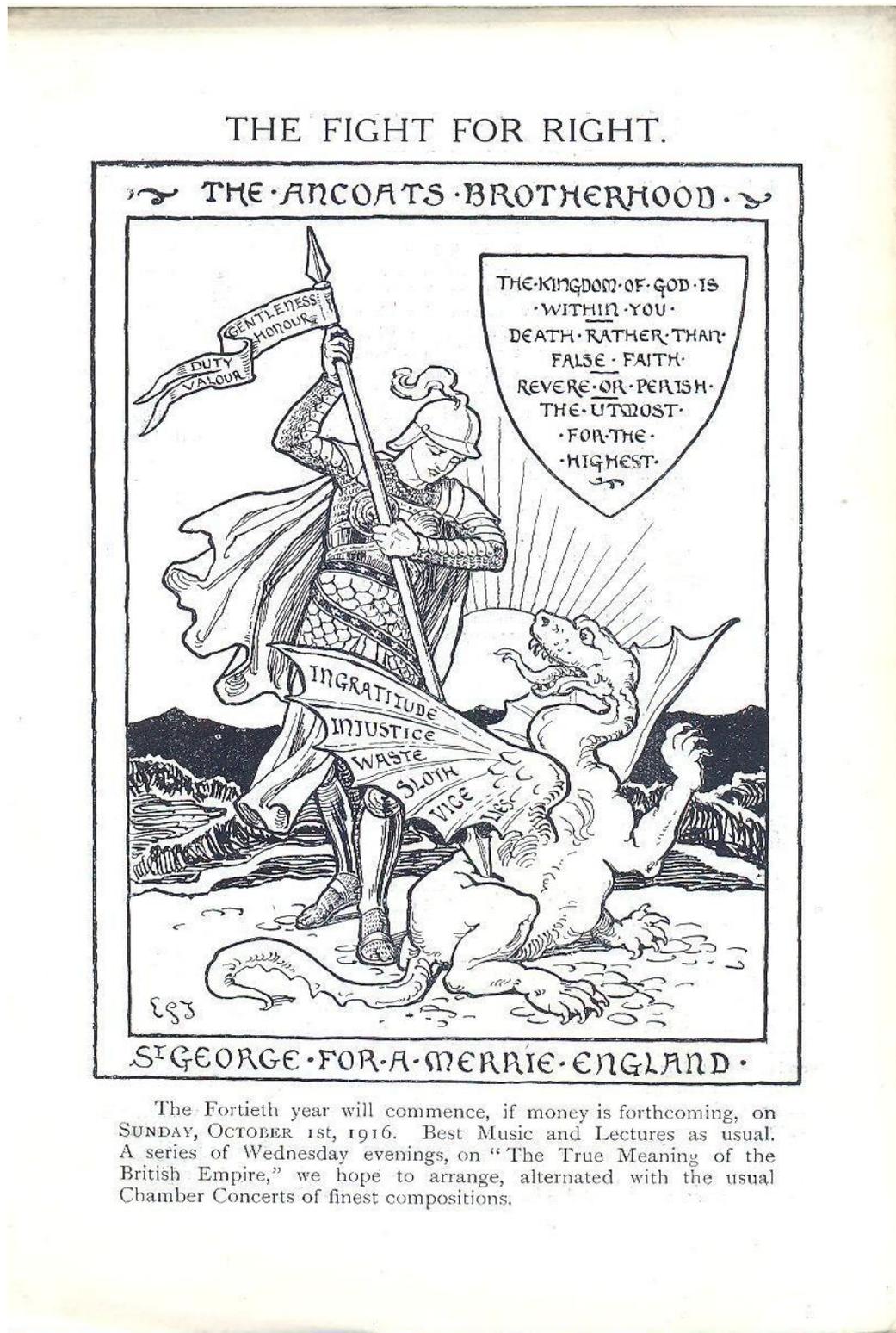


Fig.4 – The Fight for Right

⁴⁷ Programme for 7 May 1916.

In January 1915 the MP George Roberts spoke on “Labour and international peace”, on which occasion the programme reproduced a letter (to *The Times*?) by Sir T[homas]. Jackson:

...The letters in your columns have exposed satisfactorily the shallowness of German pretensions to discovery in many fields of science and literature. No-one will dispute their supremacy in music, but their claim to distinction in the other arts is, to an artist, simply amazing.⁴⁸

His diatribe even went so far as to deride the nineteenth-century completion of Cologne cathedral as an example of megalomania and bad taste.

Jackson’s comment on the supremacy of German music could be taken as articulating the cultural dilemma in which the Ancoats Brotherhood found itself. While the Ancoats speakers and programmes gave voice to a national wave of anti-German patriotism, damning most aspects of German culture in terms which were often grossly exaggerated, German music had somehow to be defended from criticism.

The Brodsky Quartet was, initially, not in a position to contribute to the implied debate as the internment in continental Europe of both Brodsky and Fuchs at the outbreak of war necessitated a break in its activities, the duration of which, at this stage, was unpredictable. The very differing experiences of Brodsky and Fuchs as internees, and the implication their enforced absence had for their careers in Manchester, are explored in the next chapter. For the Ancoats Brotherhood, the concomitant change in the musical nature of its wartime meetings was complemented by an understandable reduction in the number of male performers. The war years consequently saw a growing

⁴⁸ 3 January 1915.

number of vocal recitals, largely given by female singers. Some of these clearly saw it as their patriotic duty to abandon the Austro-German repertoire completely, even, in one instance, to include pro-military songs, as Amy Brooke did in January 1915 when she sang her own compositions “Gallant Belgium” and “When Lancashire leads the way”. Others continued to draw, at least in part, on the Lieder tradition, offering a sprinkling of Schumann, Brahms and Wolf – admittedly usually sung in English – among a growing number of songs by French and English composers. The increasing appearance of names like Debussy, Chaminade, Vaughan Williams or Bantock suggests not just an eschewal of the German school, but also a growing turn from the canonic to the contemporary, and it is interesting to note that this process, which was to accelerate during the war years, was to a large extent initiated by women.

The lack of male performers, however, also created an opening for women beyond their traditional roles as singers or pianists. As early as October 1914, the anti-Kaiser diatribe quoted above appeared in the company of an all-female string quartet, an *ad hoc* ensemble led by Mrs. Max Lawrence. True, they played Haydn; but more significantly they played Frank Bridge – completely uncharted territory for the Brodsky Quartet. 1914 also witnessed the first of several recitals by the all-female Edith Robinson Quartet, featuring Brodsky’s pupils. Other Brodsky pupils who appeared were the violinist Ethel Richmond and Arthur Catterall, whose own quartet gave several recitals.⁴⁹ Another featured quartet was led by Catterall’s second violinist, John Bridge.⁵⁰ Their rather novel programme on 24 October 1915 complemented Schubert’s A minor Quartet, D.804 with music by Frank Bridge and Percy Grainger.

⁴⁹ Arthur Catterall, John Bridge, Frank Park and Johan Hock.

⁵⁰ Bridge often performed with his pianist wife, Enid.

Young performers took the stage as well. As Bella Baillie, Isobel Baillie made her Ancoats debut during the war, as did the pianist and composer Eric Fogg. Fogg's mother was Baillie's teacher, while his father conducted Crumpsall Male Voice Choir, who also featured in the Ancoats programmes at this time. Baillie and Fogg appeared together in November 1917, when the programme featured English and French songs and piano music by Debussy and Cyril Scott.⁵¹

Following Brodsky's return to the UK in the spring of 1915, his quartet began to appear at the Ancoats concerts again from the autumn of that year, although with Walter Hatton replacing the still interned Fuchs. There is little evidence for Brodsky's own preferences having been coloured by European politics. While the Brotherhood heard such lectures as "Shakespeare and patriotism",⁵² "The true meaning of the British Empire",⁵³ or "The fascination of Belgium before the savages came",⁵⁴ and even one from the singer Marie Brema yoking Shakespeare to the cause of the war effort,⁵⁵ Brodsky chose to fly the cultural flag for Mozart, Schubert, Mendelssohn and above all Beethoven. In short, he introduced no changes to the repertoire he had offered before the war. Neither did his Ancoats concerts offer any striking differences from those the Quartet were giving elsewhere in Manchester and

⁵¹ 11 November 1917. They also appeared together on 2 December 1917, on which occasion Fogg played some of his own compositions.

⁵² Sir Sidney Lee, 17 January 1915.

⁵³ Sir Francis Younghusband, 12 November 1916.

⁵⁴ Edna Walter, 6 February 1918.

⁵⁵ "Shakspere [sic] – Never so close to us as now". Brema noted that "There were some curious parallels between the things of today – the bravery of our soldiers, the fighting spirit of our race as witnessed by youths under age enlisting, the fortitude of our women – and the things related in his plays. All these evidences of today's spirit had been foreshadowed in many glorious passages by the great master". *Manchester Guardian*: 10 April 1916, p.10.

the North West. It is telling, for example, to see that the Brodsky Quartet's recital on 13 January 1918, containing quartets by Mozart, Schubert and Beethoven, was followed by one a week later in which the Catterall Quartet offered quartets by Dohnányi, Arensky and Borodin. Brodsky's wife Anna contributed her own anti-German polemic when she spoke on "Kerensky and the revolution in Russia" in October 1917, praising the Revolution but roundly blaming the Germans for supporting the Bolshevik threat to democracy.

There is certainly no doubt that the weakening of Russia was always a part of the policy of the Hohenzollerns. There is also no doubt that it is the German government which was and is one of the chief agents of Russia's present collapse and disaster. When the Revolution came so suddenly and passed so swiftly, so bloodlessly, with such a wonderful absence of revengeful deeds, and brought so much joy and happiness to the whole population of Russia, our enemies were taken by surprise, and during the first weeks following the great event they could not do anything to harm the great event, but later Germany did her utmost to prevent the organisation of Russia under her new-found freedom. Russia swarmed with German spies, who worked in the front and in the rear, spreading their wicked propaganda, against the Provisional Government, against our allies, against the war, and for a separate peace.⁵⁶

Brodsky's recital with the pianist John Wills given later the same day was at least tactful enough to stick to music by Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov and Grieg. Otherwise not a word is heard against the continued presence of German music in the markedly anti-German environment which the Ancoats Brotherhood had become.

⁵⁶ Subsequently published as *The birth of free Russia*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1918.

By now the Brodsky Quartet were anyway giving fewer concerts at Ancoats; generally one a year until their final appearance in 1924. Thereafter the Brotherhood's own activities declined; lectures were abandoned in 1924 and, shortly afterwards Rowley, reluctant to cede control of his brainchild to a successor, simply called a halt to the Brotherhood *per se*.⁵⁷ The post-war reduction in the frequency of the Brodsky Quartet's appearances moreover exaggerated a tendency for their programmes to look somewhat predictable in the context of the more varied fare which the Brotherhood was now offering. Younger performers were introducing more contemporary repertoire. Singers, both male and female, were by now looking more consistently beyond the German Lieder tradition. Women were moving beyond their socially acceptable roles as singers and pianists and taking their place alongside their male counterparts as string players and or even as composers. In addition to concerts by the Edith Robinson Quartet there were, for example, appearances by the violinists Gertrude Barker and Joanna (Jo) Lamb and another unnamed, but all-female string quartet.⁵⁸ To the Socialist minds of the Ancoats Brotherhood, the political import of the war which had contributed to these changes was never in doubt, but this was a war which threw down a challenge to German cultural values. In terms of music, the challenge it posed could only be met by recourse to a fair amount of compromise. Unable to apply its anti-German polemic to German music, the Ancoats Brotherhood was giving out the message that music was a special

⁵⁷ "The Ancoats Sunday lectures to be discontinued". *Manchester Guardian*: 9 October 1924, p.10. C.f. also "End of the Sunday lectures. Tribute to Mr. Rowley's work. Movement that influenced many others". *Manchester Guardian*: 13 October 1924, p.11.

⁵⁸ 25 October 1914. The programme lists them as: Quartet. Mrs. Max Lawrence, Miss E.Rogers, Miss S. Warbury, Miss H. Sargisson.

case, above and immune from political differences. In this it unwittingly found a staunch ally in the Brodsky Quartet.

Several lectures given immediately after the war dealt with its aftermath in terms of problems or questions. J.R. Clynes spoke of “Our present and future food problems”.⁵⁹ The Dean of Manchester addressed “The economic problem and the Kingdom of God”.⁶⁰ Councillor Mellor asked “Do we want more and better houses for Manchester”,⁶¹ Norman Angel “What is Labour’s foreign policy?”⁶² Meanwhile the programme for 1918-19 contained an attack on German culture from one Dr. Muhler, a former director of Krupps, reminding patrons that “The Prussia of today can only inspire the nations of Europe with a deeper hatred... She will force every foreign people to subordinate their civilisation to her own barbarism...”.⁶³

The inclusion by the Brodsky Quartet that season of the “barbarism” of Beethoven and Mendelssohn might suggest that, ironically, Muhler was unconsciously correct in one aspect of German civilisation. Europe now offered a palpably changed landscape, but the problems and questions posed by the Ancoats speakers shied away from addressing its own cultural dilemma. Obviously, one could be beastly to the Bosch, but not to Beethoven.

⁵⁹ 29 December 1918.

⁶⁰ 5 January 1919.

⁶¹ 23 February 1919 (replacing the advertised lecture: Prof. Ramsay Muir on “A new Europe”).

⁶² 3 November 1919.

⁶³ Winter schedule 1918-19.

As a case study, the involvement of the Brodsky Quartet in the activities of the Ancoats Brotherhood demonstrates the extent to which Brodsky's own largely inflexible musical preferences risked becoming increasingly out of step with the changing attitudes of his adopted city towards those cultural traditions which had shaped it. Undoubtedly such changing attitudes were profoundly coloured by the First World War, but it would be naïve to see this and the political tensions leading up to it as the sole cause of the change, especially in a city with so large and culturally literate a German population as Manchester. The discourse of chamber music in Manchester both during and after the war reveals that the war itself acted more as catalyst than as cause. This, and Brodsky's own attempt to reintegrate the career of his own quartet into the discourse, will be the subject of the final case study. Before that, it is necessary to examine the impact of internment on Brodsky himself, on the progress of his Quartet, and on chamber music in Manchester during the enforced interregnum.

Chapter 7

A tale of two citizens

We hear that Dr. and Mrs. Brodsky, of Manchester, are at Marienbad, in Austria, and that they are safe and well. Dr. and Mrs. Brodsky are, of course, Russians.¹

This brief reference appears almost as an afterthought in an article printed in the *Manchester Guardian* on 11 September 1914, otherwise bringing to the readers' attention extracts from official documents leading to Russia's entering the war. The Brodskys had spent the summer in the spa resort of Marienbad (now Mariánské Lázně in the Czech Republic) and were now, as Russian citizens on Austrian soil, detained there as enemy aliens. The lack of nuance in the newspaper report indicates not so much a lack of concern, as a simple lack of further information. For that reason, press reports on the Brodskys' situation during their absence from Manchester can only be taken as contributing one strand to the overall narrative. Moreover, these reports were at the time themselves constrained to function as secondary sources, reliant on what could be ascertained from elsewhere. The same is true of the entries in the RMCM *Minutes of Council* which relate to those reports concerning Brodsky that were communicated to Council members.² More substantial primary documentation is provided by letters which have survived. Several of these are direct correspondence between Brodsky himself and Gustav Behrens, a founding

¹ "Russia's case stated. Extracts from the new official papers: a further instalment". *Manchester Guardian*: 11 September 1914, p.6.

² The relevant minutes are contained in the 2nd volume of the RMCM *Minutes of Council* (16 October 1907-18 March 1930), RNCM RMCM/C/1/2.

member of the Council of the RMCM and Chairman of the Hallé Concerts Society.³ These not only chart Brodsky's experiences during his enforced absence, but also offer an insight into his reaction to his detention and subsequent internment. They also articulate his concern for the maintenance of the musical activities in Manchester, and in particular the day-to-day administration of the RMCM, from which he was now estranged.

The choice of Behrens as a correspondent might well have been conditioned by Brodsky's being in contact in Austria with Behrens' cousin, Walter Behrens. This is apparent from Brodsky's initial letter, which appears to be the source for the *Manchester Guardian* report reproduced above. Written from Marienbad on 31 August, it mentions in passing Brodsky's expressed wish that "Hopefully these lines will reach you through the goodness of Mr. Walter Behrens".⁴ Walter Behrens was negotiating with Austrian officials for the safe conduct back to England via Switzerland of the 43 British citizens detained in Marienbad but, well aware of the risks involved, the Brodskys had opted not to join them.⁵ Brodsky had drawn on his own contacts in Vienna to make alternative arrangements, telling Behrens that "...my

³ These letters are held by Manchester Central Library (MCL), E000295813/RF 780.68 Me71c/71d. They are a mixture of autograph, original typescript and typed transcriptions and/or translations.

⁴ "Hoffentlich werden Sie diese Zeilen durch die Gute des Herrn Walter Behrens erreichen". Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Walter Behrens: 31 August 1914. MCL E000295813. The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* reported on 19 September that a transcript of this letter was read to the RMCM Council. The report offers a paraphrase of the contents and adds the information that it was posted in Geneva on 7 September.

⁵ Appended to Brodsky's letter is a postscript in the hand of Walter Behrens, written from the Hotel Metropole in Geneva. "Dear Gusty – After 3 weeks negotiation with Vienna I managed to get a safe-conduct for the 43 British guests at Marienbad & brought them safely through to the frontier (Suisse) & here! I am off to Bordeaux to see our British Ambassador!". A further transcript adds that it was "dated Geneva Sept. 7th 1914" which would corroborate the information about the date of posting referred to above. MCL E000295813.

longstanding friend Herman Benis has offered me the use of his apartment in Vienna until there arises the possibility of travelling safely to England”.⁶

Knowing that the wait might be a long one, Brodsky was concerned to put in place arrangements to cover his potential absence over the coming months. These applied to both his RMCM teaching commitments and concert activities. He proposed that Arthur Catterall should take over his violin students and quartet class, and Thomas Keighley the College orchestra. The subscription concerts to be given by the Brodsky Quartet could however “not take place”.⁷ As an alternative – and on the assumption that he would be back in Manchester by the new year – he suggested that “perhaps after Christmas we could give single concerts for the benefit of the Sustentation Fund”.⁸ The welfare of his students was to take precedence over the needs of his public.

Brodsky’s suggested teaching arrangements were implemented, but with some modification. The *Minutes of Council* for 16 September 1914, at which a translation of Brodsky’s letter was read, noted that Brodsky’s suggestions “be approved, including that offering the Quartet Class to Mr. Rawdon Briggs should this be agreeable to Mr. Catterall”.⁹ It was also agreed that the reallocation of Brodsky’s pupils should be divided between Arthur Catterall and Anton Maaskoff. Brodsky

⁶ “...hat uns mein langjähriger Freund Herman Benis seine Wohnung in Wien zur Verfügung gestellt, bis es irgend eine Möglichkeit sein wird, gefahrlos nach England zu fahren”. Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Walter Behrens, 31 August 1914. MCL E000295813.

⁷ “Die Abonnement würde nicht stattfinden”. Ibid.

⁸ “Vielleicht könnten wir nach Weihnachten unsere Concerte zu Gunsten des Sustentation Fund’s einzeln geben.” Ibid.

⁹ RMCM *Minutes of Council*. Op. cit.

acknowledged this decision in a letter to Gustav Behrens, in which he also recommended that the Hallé Concerts Society engage Maaskoff, another former pupil, as a soloist. Maaskoff was not a regular member of the RMCM staff and was engaged specifically to cover Brodsky's absence; moreover, Brodsky made it clear in his letter that he had lost touch with him.¹⁰ The Ensemble Class was given to Max Mayer and Frank Merrick, and the 'cello pupils of Carl Fuchs, now also detained in Germany at the outbreak of war, to Walter Hatton.

Brodsky's subsequent letter makes it clear that Behrens had replied to his previous one on 16 September, confirming these revised teaching arrangements.¹¹ This letter has not survived. Brodsky now explained another complication – his English being somewhat gauche.

Our position here is complicated throug [sic] our being Russian subjects and residing in England. The American Ambassador who protects the brittish [sic] subjects says he can do nothing for us and sends us to the Spanish Ambassador, who again says that he could help us to return to russia [sic] but can do nothing for our returning to England... We are most unhappy to be cut off from our life and work in Manchester. We are sad, but we try to make the best of it.¹²

For his part, Behrens tried to offer encouragement by referring in his reply to positive references to musical life in Manchester.

¹⁰ Transcript of a letter from Adolph Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, 10 November 1914. MCL E000295813. It would appear, however, that the plans were further revised, as the RMCM *Minutes of Council* for 21 October 1914 allude to "Mr. Briggs has taken the Quartet Class & Mr. Catterall the whole of Dr. Brodsky's pupils".

¹¹ Typescript letter with autograph corrections, Adolph Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, 4 October 1914. MCL E000295813.

¹² *Ibid.*

You will be very pleased to hear that our College of Music continues to make satisfactory progress, although of course everyone misses you and deplores your enforced absence. The new [student] entries are no fewer than thirty two, and everything is going satisfactorily so far as we know.¹³

Behrens also mentions the Hallé Orchestra, whose members had now agreed to work for half pay as a means of meeting financial constraints imposed by the war. What he did not share with Brodsky was the less encouraging news that “19 students had applied for leave of absence”.¹⁴ Nor did he mention that Edith Robinson had offered to arrange three chamber concerts within the college in aid of the Student Sustentation Fund. Wary of the fact that it was the Sustentation Fund to which profits from the Brodsky Quartet Concerts were directed, Council had minuted that “...thanks be given to Miss Robinson for her offer, which this Council felt, under the existing circumstances, it would be imprudent to accept”.¹⁵

Behind the scenes Behrens was also making moves to contact friends and relatives of the Brodskys who might have expressed concern for their wellbeing and safety. Replies are extant to letters to Anna Brodsky’s sister Olga and her brother Georgii Skadovsky, where Behrens appears to have acted as an agent in facilitating correspondence. Olga thanked him “for being so kind and good as to forward Dr. Brodsky’s letter” and Georgii for “the news concerning my brother in law and sister which I have just received”.¹⁶ A transcript of a letter from Behrens to Nina Grieg,

¹³ Typescript letter from Gustav Behrens to Adolph Brodsky, 13 October 1914. MCL E000295813.

¹⁴ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 21 October 1914.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ “Vous avez bien aimable, bien bon de m’envoyer la letter de Docteur Brodsky”. Autograph letter, Olga Skadovsky to Gustav Behrens: 22 October (OS) / 4 November (NS) 1914. “...des

dated 13 October, suggests that the latter must have heard independently from (or of) the Brodskys, since it refers to a postcard received from her five days previously, which “gives us good news from our mutual friends the Brodskys”.¹⁷ Behrens moreover must have used Nina’s agency as a means of contacting the Brodskys in Vienna, since he asks her to forward to them his letter of 13 October, referred to above. The tone of the letter to Nina implies the need for discretion in forwarding anything to Benis’s address:¹⁸

It will be better, in addressing the envelope, not to put Dr B’s name at all, but simply to address it to Mr Herman Benis, who will see that it gets into our friend’s hands.¹⁹

Behrens’ next letter to Brodsky continues to reassure him that musical life in Manchester was progressing as well as can be expected. Arrangements had been put in place to oversee the administration of the RMCM and promised contributions to the Jubilee Fund, including one of £1,000, had been forthcoming. The financial position was holding up overall.²⁰ The opening concerts of the new Hallé season had been successful and featured Elgar and Beecham among their guest conductors. Presumably as a patriotic gesture, other conductors already engaged were either British or from the allied nations and

nouvelles concernant ma beau frère et ma soeur que je viens d’apprendre”. Autograph letter, Georgii Skadovsky to Gustav Behrens: 19 (OS) / 26 (sic – NS) 1914. MCL E000295813.

¹⁷ Typed transcript of a letter from Gustav Behrens to Nina Grieg, 13 October 1914. Ibid.

¹⁸ 1 Oppolzergasse, Vienna 4.

¹⁹ Gustav Behrens to Nina Grieg. Op. cit.

²⁰ The Silver Jubilee of the RMCM fell in 1918.

...Each concert is opened with the singing of *God save the King*, also the various national anthems i.e. Russian, French and Belgian, at the beginning of the second part, that is, one at each concert. This appears to give very general satisfaction.²¹

Even a reference to a recent holiday in Colwyn Bay is framed to remind the Brodskys of the time they had previously shared there with Behrens and his wife. Less encouraging news, however, could not be avoided, including the effect of the war on other concert societies in Manchester.

Mr Harford has had to give up his teaching as he has had to join the army... Fuchs is still detained (I think at Jugenheim) together with his wife and two sons.... I hear that the Promenade Concerts are well attended, but Harrison's are said to be empty and Brand Lane's subscriptions have, I am told, also fallen off.²²

Above all, things could never be completely the same without Brodsky himself. Behrens reassured him that "You are greatly missed at our college and we are earnestly hoping that you may be allowed to return home and resume your duties as Principal".²³ Behrens was particularly anxious that Brodsky should return to the RMCM in time to chair the Annual General Meeting on 4 December since, as he put

²¹ Typed transcript of a letter from Gustav Behrens to Adolph Brodsky, 1 November 1914. MCL E000295813.

²² Ibid. Francis Harford was a singing teacher at the RMCM. For more details of Harford's RMCM career see Michael Kennedy. *The history of the Royal Manchester College of Music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971, pp.62-63.

²³ Ibid.

it, “an annual meeting without our dear Principal is like playing Hamlet without Hamlet”.²⁴

Brodsky’s response, dated 10 November, provides the fullest expression to date of his reaction to his situation, together with a glimpse of how he was passing the time in Vienna. “We are longing to return”, he informed Behrens, “but must wait patiently until we are allowed to leave Austria (where we have found so many friends and hospitality, but cannot help to feel unhappy being cut of [sic] from our house)”.²⁵ Brodsky was confident that within a week or so he and his wife would receive the necessary documentation enabling them to travel to Lausanne, where they would join a party being conducted through Switzerland and France and thence to Dieppe for the Channel crossing to Folkestone.

He had also heard news of Fuchs, whose situation appeared worse than his own; his comments offer an insight into his take on the vicissitudes of international politics of which he and Fuchs were now mere pawns.

Poor Fuchs has now been taken prisoner. They took him away from his family and he is now at Giessen and possibly will be taken to Berlin. All this because the Germans are so badly treated in England. I hope that both the English and German governments will come to terms about the treatment of their subjects. Till now the English subject [sic] have been very well treated

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Transcript of a letter from Adolph Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, 10 November 1914. MCL E000295813.

here and as probably were the Germans in England. It is probably all due to misunderstandings created by the Jingo-press from both countries.²⁶

The irony of Fuchs's internment is that he was a native German, but interned on account of his having taken British citizenship. Brodsky's information must have been somewhat out-of-date, as by this stage Fuchs had already been sent to the internment camp at Ruhleben near Berlin.

Brodsky was still hoping to be back in Manchester in time to chair the Annual Meeting of the RMCM. He was also not totally cut off from musical activity. "I do everything in my power to get back", he confessed.²⁷ "We are here thanks to our true friend M. Benis as happy as one can be under the circumstances. Sometimes I play quartets with Schalk, who plays the viola. We have been to "Fidelio" and heard a "Philharmonisches Concert" conducted by Weingartner".²⁸

The hoped-for imminent return was not to be. Barely two weeks later, Anna Brodsky wrote to Behrens with distressing news:

I am sorry to say I have some sad news for you. Today my husband was interned in the prisoners' concentration camp; he was taken to Raabs. Now we cannot say when we shall get home. I hope to be allowed to go to Raabs tomorrow. Life is very hard; if only time would pass quickly.²⁹

²⁶ Ibid. Fuchs's detention had already been formally noted in Council on 16 September.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. Franz Schalk had conducted the successful performance of the Elgar Violin Concerto which Brodsky had given in Vienna on 5 January 1914.

²⁹ "Leider hab ich eine traurige Nachricht Ihnen mitzutheilen. Mein Mann wurde heute ins GEGANGENLAGER internirt. Er musste nach Raabs fahren. Nun wissen wir gar nichts wann wir

More details are provided in a letter of 31 December from Herman Benis to Behrens. Brodsky had decided – against the advice of friends - to undertake the journey back to England via Switzerland, but “... only thinking of his duty, and with a view to resuming his duty, he petitioned the [local] authorities for permission to undertake the journey, when to our dismay, instead of permission came his internment”.³⁰

Behrens aimed once more to temper his reaction with news which might offer some cheer, delaying his response until after the Annual General Meeting so as to be able to report favourably on the proceedings.

...our own disappointment is greater than I can express! Our College is really not the same and everyone misses our Principal!... There was a very full attendance + everything passed off well.

The music was provided by Brema, Catterall + Misses Arthan and Pierce.³¹ Beecham made a long speech chiefly directed against the London Conservatoires for their inability to produce efficient singers!

...our thoughts are with you and Dr Brodsky... I hope he has his violin and chess!³²

heimfahren dürfen. Ich hoffe morgen nach Raabs fahren zu dürfen. Sehr schwer ist das Leben, wenn diese Zeit nur schnell vorüber sein könnte.” Autograph letter with translation from Anna Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, 23 November 1914. MCL E000295813.

³⁰ “[Unser Freund] hat aber nur in Gedanken an der Pflicht, seiner Thätigkeit nachzukommen, bei den hiesigen Behörden wiederholt die Reisegenehmigung angesucht hat und zu unseren allen Entraten kam statt die Erlaubnis zur Reise seine Internierung”. Autograph letter with translation from Herman Benis to Gustav Behrens, 31 December 1914. Ibid. A short article in the *Manchester Guardian*, printed at the time of Brodsky’s return to Manchester, alludes to a letter which appears not to have survived, in which Brodsky refers to having been imprisoned overnight before his transfer to Raabs and being treated “almost kindly”. “Dr. Brodsky: treated ‘almost kindly’”. *Manchester Guardian*: 15 April 1915, p.3.

³¹ Ellen Artan and Lucy Pierce.

Once again, Behrens was being economical with the truth. Beecham's "long speech" was in fact a lengthy polemic, praising the war for having achieved "the expulsion of all the accomplished foreigners "who had stood in the way of recognising the talents of British musicians".³³ It was a sentiment which Brodsky might not have been comfortable in hearing, despite Beecham's praise for the RMCM as a youthful institution being as enthusiastic as his condemnation of the London colleges. Nor might he have taken to hearing Beecham, in an attack on German culture no doubt intended to play to the gallery, compare England with "its great friend and enemy Germany, to which it had unhappily owed too much in the past".³⁴ Brodsky, for one, owed it a great deal. Beecham's implied belittling of the college as unable to compete with its continental counterparts drew a response from its longstanding Registrar Stanley Withers, which succeeded only in inciting Beecham to renew his attack in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* published on 11 December.³⁵ Withers in turn railed against Beecham's "indiscriminate abuse of... 'incompetent foreigners'" and pointed to the number of foreign staff at the college, including Brodsky, who had commended the standards achieved by native students without seeking in any way to make unjustified comparisons with those being trained on the Continent.³⁶

³² Autograph letter from Gustav Behrens to Anna Brodsky, 5 December 1914. Brodsky was an avid chess player and a vice-chairman of Manchester Chess Club.

³³ "Mr. Thomas Beecham. The prospects of British Music". *Manchester Guardian*: 5 December 1914, p.10. The same day the *Manchester Guardian* carried a brief report of Brodsky's change of circumstances, its first reference to his detention since the previous September. C.f. "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 5 December 1914, p.4.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Mr. Thomas Beecham returns to the attack". *Manchester Guardian*: 11 December 1914, p.12.

³⁶ "Music & the Manchester College". *Manchester Guardian*: 14 December 1914, p.12.

Behrens wisely kept all mention of this from Brodsky, insofar as he was at this stage able to communicate with him at all. Brodsky's internment allowed for little direct correspondence between him and Behrens; the latter for his part was forced to act through a number of intermediaries. His one extant letter sent directly to Brodsky, written on Christmas Eve, even questions whether his previous letter to Anna reached her, as he had not subsequently heard from her. Otherwise his news is confined as before to mention of music in Manchester, including the following piece of information, which was no doubt intended to offer encouragement.

Yesterday I received a letter from Mrs. Toller enclosing a cheque for £5 towards the sustentation fund [sic] of our College – she writes that she feels so sorry that your Quartets cannot be given this season, but as she does not wish the College to suffer financially, she sends this contribution. I told Mrs. Toller that I would let you know for I am sure you will be touched by her kind thoughtfulness.³⁷

Concerts in aid of the Sustentation Fund had not been altogether abandoned, nor did Manchester want for chamber music. The RCMC *Minutes of Council* for 20 January 1915 record thanks to Arthur Catterall and Robert Forbes for proposing to give a concert and that both Edith Robinson and Christopher Rawdon Briggs were to be approached with a view to giving quartet recitals. Minutes for the following month record that the Catterall / Forbes recital was of duo sonatas and raised £8.16.2

³⁷ Autograph letter from Gustav Behrens to Adolph Brodsky, 24 December 1914. MCL E000295813. Mrs. Toller's donation is also mentioned in the RCMC *Minutes of Council* for 17 February 1915. This letter appears to have been forwarded through the agency of contacts in St. Margarethen, Switzerland. A supplementary letter survives from Behrens, dated 24 December, requesting that the enclosed letter be forwarded to Benis's address. The wording suggests that Behrens had used these contacts, referred to as "Herren Gebr. Weiss", on a previous occasion, and that Benis was still being used as an agent in Vienna to forward letters to Brodsky himself. Two further letters to St. Margarethen from early in 1915, making similar requests, have also survived. All at MCL E000295813.

(£8.81).³⁸ The concerts by the Rawdon Briggs and Edith Robinson Quartets raised £4.5.0 (£4.25) and £6 respectively.³⁹

Catterall and Forbes might well have chosen their programme partly in honour of their absent Principal, since it included the Busoni Violin Sonata, op.29 which Brodsky himself had introduced to Manchester. The point was not lost on Samuel Langford, reviewing the concert for the *Manchester Guardian*, even if he was candid in his opinion that “The passing years do little to make Mr. Busoni’s music more popular, although almost every kind of musical severity has its admirers these days” or that the music evinced “the expression of an intellectual irritability highly stimulating to the expert musician... but forbidding to the casual listener”.⁴⁰ He was equally lukewarm in his response to the sonata by Pierné, which he found too slight in invention for its length, but more comfortable with the “familiar ground” of Brahms’s D minor sonata.⁴¹ The Pierné, Langford noted, was being heard for the first time in Manchester. Written in 1900, it was hardly the sort of piece that Brodsky himself would have chosen to introduce to the city’s audiences, giving rise to the speculation that Catterall might have taken advantage of his erstwhile teacher’s absence to show that he too could take the initiative in programming the unfamiliar. Announcing the concert only a week or previously, the *Manchester Guardian* had risked offering a hostage to fortune in its view that

³⁸ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 17 February 1915. Dates of 27 February and 13 March were proposed for the Rawdon Briggs and Robinson quartet concerts respectively.

³⁹ RMCM *Minutes of Council*, 17 March 1915.

⁴⁰ “Recital by Mr. A. Catterall and Mr. R. J. Forbes”. *Manchester Guardian*: 30 January 1915, p.8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

...The temporary break-up of the Brodsky Quartet is now seen in its true light as a challenge to our younger musicians to take up the work that has been so long and so ably accomplished by the field of chamber music and for the support of young students. The standard set is a high one, but there is no reason why it should not be maintained, or why famous artists who visit Manchester should not prove as willing as hitherto to give their help in a field of music that brings little financial profit to anyone but is dear to every real musician.⁴²

The dearth of correspondence between Behrens and Brodsky in the new year of 1915 suggests that, even if Behrens had wished to communicate any of this to Brodsky, it was now more difficult to do so. A single inkling of the latter's position is found in a letter written "to an American lady in Rome", apparently in response to another in which it was proposed that an appeal to the American Ambassador in Vienna might hasten Brodsky's release. Brodsky himself doubted it, citing the complication that, although he and his wife were normally resident in England, they were still Russian subjects. The letter also offers an insight into Brodsky's response as an innocent man of advanced years, caught up in a situation over which he had no control:

The only thing would be if you perhaps had influence with the Italian Government to allow me – a harmless old artist, aged 63 years – to return to my musical activity and to my pupils in Manchester. I have been interned in Raabs for the last month; I am in very good health, and since my wife has

⁴² "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 23 January 1915, p.4.

been allowed to visit me I wish for nothing only for liberty to return to Manchester.⁴³

The sentiments are echoed in a later letter, written shortly before Brodsky's eventual release, in which he poses the rhetorical question "...Why they should have kept me in a civil prison in Austria all the time I have no idea. As you know I am 64 years of age and a harmless musician...".⁴⁴

By this stage reactions to Brodsky's plight were being voiced by the Manchester press. A pointed article in the *Manchester Guardian* drew readers' attention to the anomaly by which one with such a longstanding and successful association with Vienna should now be interned there, citing as well his contacts with Germany.

...there seems at last to be a prospect that the combined effort being made to secure the release of Dr. Brodsky... will meet with success... it is still hard to understand how the Viennese public can tolerate the prolonged detention of one to whom they are bound by ties so strong of hospitality gratitude, and regard...

Germany is as much indebted to Dr. Brodsky as is Austria, for when Dr. Brodsky became a professor at the Leipsic [sic] Conservatoire he was leader also of the Gewandhaus Quartet, whose reputation and influence are as wide as German musical life itself.⁴⁵

⁴³ Translation of a letter from Adolph Brodsky to an American lady in Rome, 23 December 1914. MCL E000295813.

⁴⁴ Translation of a letter from Adolph Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, Good Friday [2 April] 1915. Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Dr. Brodsky and Vienna". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 February 1915, p.6.

According to the *Manchester Evening News*, calls for Brodsky's release were more than merely local.

New York. Monday. – Prominent musicians of all nationalities and sympathies have asked the State Department to allow the United States Ambassador at Vienna to make a petition for the release of the eminent violinist, Adolph Brodsky... on the ground that he has always been an artist, and cannot be regarded as a political or military factor, and that he is 64 years old.⁴⁶

According to the same newspaper, William Eller, in his capacity as a member of the RMCM Council, had also set in motion a chain of events whereby “learning that the American Consul in Manchester was a close friend of the American Ambassador at Vienna” the latter had successfully petitioned for Brodsky's release through the agency of the Spanish Ambassador, who represented the interests of Russians interned in Austria.⁴⁷ From here on, news of Brodsky's release was being reported in the Manchester press.⁴⁸ At its meeting on 17 March, the RNCM Council resolved “that the American Ambassador in Vienna be thanked for his successful efforts to secure the release of Dr. Brodsky”.⁴⁹

The Russian citizenship of Brodsky and his wife was to prove the remaining obstacle to their release. By early April they were in Switzerland, where Brodsky wrote to Behrens from Lausanne:

⁴⁶ Reuters report. *Manchester Evening News*: 15 February 1915, p.5. The same report appeared in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*: 15 February, 1915, p.4 and the *Manchester Guardian*: 16 February 1915, p.6.

⁴⁷ “Released by the Austrian Government”. *Manchester Evening News*: 12 March 1915, p.3.

⁴⁸ C.f. also “The release of Dr. Brodsky”. *Manchester Guardian*: 13 March 1915, p.5.

⁴⁹ RMCM *Minutes of Council*: 17 March 1915.

...We arrived yesterday evening. Unfortunately the British Consulate... is closed to-day and I must have patience till to-morrow to get some information about the possibility of our crossing over to England... Privately I was told about the difficulty with the pass. They say that [my] old Russian pass must be exchanged by the Russian Ambassador for a new one... Perhaps they were furious that I being a Russian lived for 20 years in England and such becoming a double enemy at the outbreak of war.⁵⁰

Expressing his fear that they might be detained until the end of the war

...I suddenly was informed that I am to go with my wife to Switzerland. You can imagine how we both jumped for joy. The possibility of getting back to my work and seeing again all our dear Manchester friends and being again at home "sweet home" in Bowdon.⁵¹

Brodsky requested from Behrens, not only financial assistance, but official documentation from Manchester City Council confirming his position as Principal of the RMCM and as a longstanding resident of Manchester. He also acknowledged the support of Benis as "quite unique. He was more than Father, Mother + Friend to us" but that his financial support, while generous, had counted for little in the face of rapid inflation.⁵²

⁵⁰ Translation of a letter from Adolph Brodsky to Gustav Behrens, Good Friday [2 April] 1915. This was also Brodsky's birthday (NS), although he makes no mention of it. MCL E000295813.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. Letters from sent from Benis to Brodsky after the war allude to the latter's willingness to support fundraising projects in aid of Viennese war orphans.

Behrens obviously acted swiftly, as the letter of introduction signed by the Lord Mayor is dated 6 April and was sent the following day.⁵³ Two weeks later, the *Manchester Guardian* carried a report stating not only that “Dr. Brodsky arrived in Manchester on Saturday afternoon” but that he had also already “consented to give a concert at an early date for one of the White Heather charities”.⁵⁴ On 21 April he returned to the RMC. Addressing a reception held in his honour, he was not stinting in his acknowledgement of the many who had worked to secure his release, adding that it came just at the point where he had given up hope of liberation. His overriding wish had been to be back among his colleagues.

Now that he was back he did not need the assurance... that the work of the students had gone well in his absence, for he had already had glimpses of what had been done, and they had almost made him think it was desirable he should go away again. He always came back to the College tired of holidays before they were over, but he had never been so tired of them and so eager for work as he was today.⁵⁵

One long-term outcome of his experience was that Brodsky was eventually granted British citizenship in 1923.⁵⁶ Otherwise he viewed internment as a temporary hiatus

⁵³ “Dated at Manchester the sixth day of April in the fifth year of the reign of His Majesty King George the V and in the year of our Lord 1915. Daniel McCabe, Lord Mayor”. Behrens’ covering letter to Brodsky is dated 7 April. MCL E000295813.

⁵⁴ “Dr. Brodsky”. *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1915, p.3. The previous Saturday was 17 April. The White Heather concert took place on 12 September, where Brodsky shared the stage of the New Palace Theatre with, among others, the comedian Harry Lauder. C.f. “Mr. Harry Lauder. An old miner’s recruiting appeal”. *Manchester Guardian*, 13 September 1915, p.3.

⁵⁵ “Dr. and Mrs. Brodsky. Welcome at the College of Music”. *Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1915, p.3.

⁵⁶ The certificate, no.9866, is at RNCM AB/105. Brodsky and his wife were also registered under the 1915 National Registration Act, which confirmed Brodsky’s ineligibility for military service. Registration certificates are at RNCM AB/102 and 103.

in a career which, seeing himself as an innocent victim of circumstances beyond his control, he was keen to resume as before. Yet in one crucial respect this would not prove as straightforward as Brodsky might have imagined. Not until 1916 did the Brodsky Quartet make its next public appearance, and then with a change of personnel. Walter Hatton was now the 'cellist, since Fuchs was still detained in Germany and would remain there until after the end of the war. For Fuchs, internment was to prove more than a temporary hiatus, but one which would have a lasting effect on his post-war career and his place in the musical life of Manchester.

Paradoxically, given Fuchs's four-and-a-half-year absence from Manchester, the city's press gave less attention to his situation than it did to Brodsky's absence of eight months or so. Brodsky, after all, was RMCM Principal, a key player in the city's musical life. Fuchs did not enjoy so high a status as a Manchester celebrity, nor was his day-to-day role in the functioning of the RMCM so crucial. Correspondence between Fuchs and contacts in Manchester is also minimal. More numerous are the details of Fuchs's concert activity in Germany, chiefly in the form of concert programmes and press cuttings held in the Fuchs papers at the RNCM, several of which contain explanatory annotations added later by his younger son Edgar.⁵⁷ These are important, not only in that they shed light on Fuchs's repertoire as a solo artist, but also in that they foreshadow the kind of concert career which Fuchs was keen to develop after his return to the UK in 1919 and its concomitant independence from the activities of the Brodsky Quartet. As a first-hand account of his experiences as an internee, Fuchs's own *Recollections of Carl Fuchs, 'cellist*, alluded to elsewhere, cannot be overlooked.⁵⁸ Its importance as an autobiographical work

⁵⁷ These annotations appear to have been made for the benefit of Edgar Fuchs's daughters, with the intention of providing an explanatory commentary on their grandfather's experiences.

⁵⁸ Carl Fuchs. *Recollections of Carl Fuchs, 'cellist*. Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1937.

notwithstanding, the account of the war years is not only written sometime after the events it describes, but despatched with comparative brevity, as if the writer were conscious of its jarring in an otherwise anecdotal, and often witty, memoir. The German original, of which the *Recollections* is a translation, is marginally fuller.⁵⁹ In the foreword to the English version Fuchs advised his readers that he had “eliminated those parts which are of greater interest to Continental than to English readers”. Thus even in recounting his memoirs Fuchs, a German who had adopted British nationality, articulated his dual allegiances in the need to speak as both German and English, and where necessary to maintain a clear distinction between the two.⁶⁰

What the *Recollections* do reveal in places is Fuchs’s preparedness to offer his own political viewpoint on the war, in a way that Brodsky’s letters do not. Brodsky’s comments tend towards the inward-looking; it is his misfortune and his desire to escape from it that occupy centre-stage, but he expresses no opinions on the rightness or wrongness of the war itself. Indeed, as noted in the previous chapter, throughout his life he emerges as less of a political creature than his wife.

Fuchs, on the other hand, makes clear his pacifist opposition to the war and his willingness to proselytise his viewpoint.

Not long before the war I made the acquaintance of Norman (now Sir Norman) Angell, the great pacifist and clear thinker, when he gave a lecture at Ancoats. In his famous book *The Great Illusion* he proved the futility of

⁵⁹ Fuchs. *Erinnerungen eines Offenbacher ‘Cellisten*. Bethel bei Bielefeld: Buchdruckerei der Anstalt Bethel, 1932.

⁶⁰ Fuchs. *Recollections*....., p.7.

war, and what he prophesised has come to pass. I told him I had given... this book to several German friends, whereupon he sent me twelve copies of it in a German translation. I gave them to people whom I did not take to be unconditionally against war.⁶¹

As a former German citizen turned British national, Fuchs was also placed in an equivocal position. Citing a speech given by Sir William Mather at the Jubilee of the Schiller-Anstalt, he had believed that such was the strength of the German community in Manchester that there had existed “the impossibility of war between the two countries”.⁶² The Brodsky Quartet appeared regularly at the Schiller-Anstalt concerts, but it was Fuchs, as the concerts’ organiser, who was closest to the organisation, which more than any other catered for the musical tastes of Manchester’s German concert-goers. Although Fuchs’s German background was to work in his favour while a wartime internee, immediately after the war it was to prove a burden.

Chris Godden has pointed out the comparative slowness with which anti-German sentiments emerged in Manchester, citing in particular the liberal attitudes of the *Manchester Guardian* in speaking out in favour of respecting the city’s Germans as long-standing citizens of Manchester.⁶³ In an unconscious allusion to Fuchs’s own dilemma, only days after war was declared its article on the registration of aliens reminded readers that

⁶¹ Ibid, p.104.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Talk given in *Manchester and Germany: a friendship*, 27 March 2014, as part of the Manchester Histories Festival, by Dr. Chris Godden, Lecturer in Economic History at the University of Manchester.

...Many of the Germans who registered... have lived in Manchester for a generation or more on the happiest terms with their neighbours... Nearly all their connections are with England... Many of them too... have worked heart and soul for friendship between the two countries. War between the land of their birth and the land of their adoption comes as a heartening disillusion. Every citizen of Manchester will sympathise sincerely with them in the most cruel position in which a neighbour could be placed.⁶⁴

A month later it criticised the harsh treatment of arrested German aliens who were “manacled and chained” and who were “not criminals and ought not to be treated as such”.⁶⁵ Only after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 did opposition to German aliens begin to harden, as witnessed by attacks on their houses in the ensuing riots.

One passage in Fuchs’s *Recollections*, which was omitted from the English translation, reveals his own sympathies with the *Manchester Guardian*’s contributors, at the same time encapsulating his own dilemma.

Let us sing here a lament for the many Germans living abroad. The German living in another country can and should be a good citizen of those foreign countries whose hospitality he enjoys. But he need not shake off his native identity as a duck shakes off water. People often talk about “cultural fertilisation”. That that fertilised by native earth disappears without trace. So

⁶⁴ “Foreign residents in Manchester. Who are liable to register?”. *Manchester Guardian*, 8 August 1914, p.10. The same issue also alluded to the treatment of British citizens in Berlin after the declaration of war, which included attacks on the British Embassy.

⁶⁵ “Manchester and the war. Alien enemies in manacles”. *Manchester Guardian*, 9 September 1914, p.7.

is it often the case with the spineless Germans, who fall victim to their known German capacity for “adaptability”.⁶⁶

Together with his wife and two sons, Fuchs travelled to Germany in late July 1914, with the intention of visiting his mother and elder sister Wally in Jugenheim. “Many advised us not to go” he noted, “but for the most part people thought Sir Edward Grey, the clever Foreign Minister, would be able to smooth things over”.⁶⁷ In a cruel twist of fate, his mother died on 2 September while Fuchs was still in Jugenheim. His immediate reaction is not recorded, but in retrospect he was able to contextualise her death by looking outwards to a greater trauma than his own: “...she was spared all the horrors the world was about to pass through, although that was a mere nothing compared to the sufferings of millions”.⁶⁸

His own internment began

...while I was playing the Trio in B flat by Schubert in Darmstadt... Sergeant Z. appeared at my mother’s house in Jugenheim to escort me, the British subject, to Giessen where the British were already collected to be transported to the concentration camp at Ruhleben.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ “Hier sei ein Klagelied über viele Auslandsdeutsche gesungen. Der Auslandsdeutsche kann und soll ein guter Staatsbürger des fremden Land sein, dessen Gastfreundschaft er genießt. Aber er braucht doch nicht seine heimliche Wesenart abzuschütteln wie eine Ente die Wassertropfen. Oft spricht man von ‘Kulturdüngen’. Der der Erde anvertraute Düngen verschwindet spurlos in ihr. So geht es oft mit dem rückgratlosen Deutschen, die der bekannten deutschen ‘Anpassungsfähigkeit’ zum Opfer fallen”. Fuchs. *Erinnerungen...*, p.94.

⁶⁷ Fuchs. *Recollections...*, pp.104-105.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.105.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

A fuller explanation for the suddenness of Fuchs's arrest is offered by Matthew Stibbe in his monograph on the Ruhleben camp.⁷⁰ Throughout October 1914 Germany's conservative press increased its pressure on the authorities in Berlin to intern British citizens in Germany in retaliation for the alleged mistreatment of Germans in Britain. At the end an ultimatum was issued to the British government demanding that, unless Germans already interned in Britain were released by a deadline of 5 November, Germany would begin internment of British citizens currently on German soil. Preparations for internment were put into operation immediately so that when, as was expected, the 5 November deadline passed, the German authorities were able to act quickly, carrying out many of the arrests the following day.

Unlike Brodsky, Fuchs was unable to communicate his situation back to his colleagues in Manchester. The RMCM *Minutes of Council* merely noted "Mr. Carl Fuchs being also detained, in Germany, owing to the war" and arrangements for his teaching commitments to be taken over by Walter Hatton.⁷¹ One fellow adoptive Mancunian with whom he did correspond was Hans Richter, now at the age of 73 retired and resident in Bayreuth, although surviving evidence suggests that for information about both Fuchs and Brodsky he was to some extent reliant on others - in this instance his short-lived successor as conductor of the Hallé, Michael Balling.⁷²

Some months after Brodsky's return to Manchester Richter wrote to Fuchs:

⁷⁰ Matthew Stibbe. *British civilian internees in Germany: the Ruhleben camp, 1914-18*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008.

⁷¹ RMCM *Minutes of Council*: 16 September 1916.

⁷² A native of Wurzburg, Balling was conductor of the Hallé Orchestra from 1912-1914.

...Balling wrote to tell me that Brodsky was interned in Raabs. I wrote straight away to my home town, although I no longer have relatives or friends there; however after a certain time the card came back undelivered. Now I hear that Brodsky is back in Manchester.⁷³

A further letter from Richter to Fuchs, written on 29 December, is given over largely to reminiscing about their time together in Manchester, as if recourse to a happier past would provide some comfort to both in such straightened circumstances.

Richter had paid his own price for his career in Britain, having been forced by the German authorities to renounce his British and Russian honours and awards on pain of losing his pension. They included his honorary doctorates, of which he was particularly proud.⁷⁴ Evidence that Fuchs did enjoy a limited, but controlled, international correspondence while at Ruhleben survives in a Christmas card sent to colleagues in London. Addressed to "Drs A. and R Jordan and families" of 13 Wimpole Street, it is dated 22 December 1914 and bears Fuchs's signature followed by the printed designation "British prisoner of war".⁷⁵

⁷³ "...Balling schrieb mir, dass Brodsky in Raabs interniert ist. Ich schrieb sofort nach meine Vaterstadt, obwohl ich dort keine Verwandte oder Freunde mehr habe: die Karte kam ob unbestellt nach einiger Zeit wieder zurück" – "Nun höre ich, das Brodsky wieder zu Manchester ist". Copy of a letter from Hans Richter to Carl Fuchs: 12 December 1915. RNCM CF/1/32. Richter concludes the letter with a quotation from Sachs' monologue in *Die Meistersinger* – "Wahn! Wahn! Überall Wahn!" (Madness! Madness! Madness everywhere!).

⁷⁴ The Richter material donated to the Hallé Concerts Society in 2012 includes a copy of a letter from Richter which was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* as part of an article "Hans Richter und sein englischen Doktorat". Richter explains in his own words how he was forced to give up his academic awards from Manchester and Oxford and donate his British honours, together with several valuable gifts, to the German Red Cross. Richter's letter was initially reported in both the *St James Gazette* (18 September 1914) and *The Times* (23 September 1914). On 29 January 1915 the *St James Gazette* returned to the matter, denouncing Richter as "now an enthusiastic follower of the German operations on the battlefield. Just as he formerly praised the English people, he now as fervently hopes... that Germany may punish England, which has so profoundly disgraced herself". Richter's family denied that he was forced to give up his honours, but confirmed that he was given the choice of losing either them or his pension.

⁷⁵ RNCM CF/1/30. It consists simply of an unillustrated, pre-printed postcard designating Fuchs's quarters as Barrack II, Box 17. Fuchs noted in his *Recollections...* that much of the accommodation at Ruhleben consisted of converted haylofts.

Fuchs at least had the company of a number of fellow Mancunians. In January 1915 the *Manchester Guardian* published a list of some 220 members of the “Ruhleben Lancastrians Association”, internees from the county who had formed themselves into an association “one of the objects of which is to organise a commemoration gathering in Manchester on the return home of the prisoners”.⁷⁶ The list is accompanied by a letter, sent from two internees – Walter Butterworth and William Stern – named respectively as the President and Secretary of the Association, which shows that communication between Ruhleben and Manchester was possible. Those interned also included other musicians. Fuchs names John Pauer, son of the pianist Max Pauer, and, more significantly, the composer Edgar Bainton, with whom Fuchs formed a lasting friendship. Stibbe also mentions the Canadian composer and conductor Ernest MacMillan.⁷⁷ After the war Fuchs was to teach regularly at the short-lived Newcastle Conservatoire, of which Bainton was Principal, and was to become an early champion of his ‘Cello Sonata’.⁷⁸

Fuchs also notes that Ruhleben had a thriving musical life, which was encouraged by the German officers who “were of the opinion that nothing would contribute more to a good understanding between the German officials and the British prisoners than music, and asked whether I would arrange a concert”.⁷⁹ A photograph sent to Fuchs after his departure from Ruhleben shows an orchestra of fifty-five players, including Bainton as well as two black players – a trombonist and a double bass player – the

⁷⁶ “Interned in Germany. Lancashire’s civilian prisoners. Full list of those detained at Ruhleben”. *Manchester Guardian*, 15 January 1915, p.12.

⁷⁷ Stibbe. Op. cit., p.2.

⁷⁸ Fuchs. Op. cit., p.108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.107.

latter possibly drawn from the community of black sailors who were fellow internees.⁸⁰ Fuchs's annotation on the reverse reads "received from W.R. Cooper II VII 1916"; the sender, Walter Roylands Cooper, is depicted in the photograph as a cellist.⁸¹ The orchestra, together with the camp's choir, gave numerous concerts, including a performance of *Messiah* at Christmas 1914. A subsequent *Manchester Guardian* letter, again authored by Walter Butterworth, points to an overriding of cultural difference in that "much English, French, Italian and German music has been rendered", and highlights works including Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Haydn's *Seven last words*, Sullivan's *In memoriam* and Franck's *105th Psalm*, as well as music by Purcell, Saint-Saëns, Handel, Bach, Beethoven and Wagner.⁸²

At the end of 1914 Fuchs's sojourn in Ruhleben was already drawing to a close. By the time the *Manchester Guardian* included his name among those of the Ruhleben Lancastrians Association he had already left the camp. On this occasion his German origins were to work in his favour. On the grounds that he had once fulfilled German military duties, he was allowed to return to Jugenheim and live for the remainder of the war with his sister, albeit under police supervision. His wife and two sons returned to England on 5 January 1915. Fuchs implies that he had a choice in the matter, and reluctantly opted to separate from his immediate family, not least "for the sake of the children's education, which was impossible at Jugenheim".⁸³

⁸⁰ C.f. Stibbe. Op. cit., pp.98-99. Stibbe also alludes to the marginalisation of ethnic minorities within a system which increasingly mirrored the class divisions of contemporary British civilian life.

⁸¹ RMCM CF/2/10. Walter Royland Cooper, born in 1885, was from Nottingham. The black musicians shown in the photograph may relate to Fuchs's reference in the *Recollections...* to his borrowing an instrument from "a negro ill-treating a 'cello" (pp.106-107).

⁸² "Ruhleben Lancastrians: Mr. Butterworth on their diversions". *Manchester Guardian*, 31 March 1915, p.3.

⁸³ Fuchs. Op. cit., p.110.

Also impossible at Jugenheim, at least initially, was involvement with the level of musical activity which had developed at Ruhleben. Fuchs was constrained to remain in Jugenheim, where “all my petitions to be allowed to play elsewhere were refused by the authorities”.⁸⁴ The situation changed when Fuchs advised those seeking to employ him to petition the authorities themselves, and thus he was eventually able to embark on a wartime career as a freelance musician, chiefly within the Darmstadt area. Neither the *Erinnerungen* nor the *Recollections* devote much writing to detailed discussion of this; in both Fuchs restricts passing mention of his activities largely to operatic and orchestral performances in Darmstadt, where he had the opportunity to play under conductors including Weingartner, Nikisch, Mengelberg and Furtwängler. For information about his equally productive wartime career as a chamber musician one needs to turn elsewhere, chiefly to contemporary concert programmes and press reports, of which a comprehensive collection was preserved by Fuchs himself.⁸⁵ What they reveal is the extent to which Fuchs’s appearances in chamber concerts at this time presented him not as the quartet player in which capacity he was chiefly heard by Manchester audiences, but as a concert soloist in his own right. There is only one known instance of Fuchs taking part in a quartet performance – a work listed only as a G major quartet by Haydn – on 5 November 1916, although there is reference to him taking part in a performance of the Schubert String Quintet in October 1916.⁸⁶ Moreover, the quartet performance occurred in one of the concerts given in the *Haus im Walde* in Jugenheim, a private residence placed at the disposal of musicians as a venue for concerts which were nevertheless open to the public.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.110.

⁸⁵ RNCM CF/3/5.

⁸⁶ “Schuberts herrliches Quintett für Streichinstrumente... unter Mitwirkung des Herrn Prof. Carl Fuchs... zu Gehör gebracht werden”. *Darmstadter Tageblatt*, 15 October 1916. RNCM CF/3/5.

⁸⁷ Fuchs’s *Erinnerungen...* (pp.113-114) mentions among the performers at these concerts the pianist Sofie Heyer and the violinist Lilli Hickler “who had the good fortune to own a

The same concert also included Brahms's Piano Quartet, op.25 and Beethoven's Serenade for string trio, op.8, while the previous concert in the *Haus im Walde* had featured Fuchs in a performance of Beethoven's C major 'Cello Sonata'.⁸⁸ In this concert (14 October 1916) as in several others Fuchs is referred to as a "Grossherzogliche Hessische Kammervirtuose", a title which had been awarded to him by Duke Ernst Ludwig of Hesse in 1895 and which he no doubt now felt politically expedient to revive.

However, programmes for Fuchs's more public concerts reveal that performances of such substantial, canonic works are by no means numerous. In many of them he played the kind of popular instrumental pieces which had featured in his solo appearances in Manchester, such as those at the Schiller-Anstalt. A concert given at the Hotel *Zur Krone* in Jugenheim on 7 November 1915, in which he played short pieces by Popper and arrangements from Schubert and Schumann, is typical of many. Characteristic too of Fuchs's preference for the somewhat out-of-the-way repertoire are numerous performances of arrangements from composers such as Locatelli, Durante, Martini or Ariosti. The Ariosti *Lezione quinta*, for example, which Fuchs played at a concert in his home town of Offenbach on 2 December 1917, he had suggested to Elgar for inclusion in a Worcester Philharmonic concert back in 1903.⁸⁹ There is also a certain amount of duplication of repertoire between venues, several of which were churches, which offered the opportunity for pieces with accompaniments suitable for the organ. One such was deemed to be the *Adagio*

Stradivarius she could call her own" (die das Glück hatte, eine Stradivarius Geige, ihr eigen zu nennen). The programmes, however, make no mention of Hickler.

⁸⁸ Op.102 no.1, but listed in the programme as "Werk 105".

⁸⁹ Mentioned in an autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar: 15 February 1903. Elgar Birthplace Museum (EBM) L 2400.

from Schubert's Arpeggione Sonata, which Fuchs performed several times in his own arrangement.

Such works were presumably in Fuchs's repertoire and could therefore be produced comparatively easily if rehearsal opportunities were limited. They were also works for which he retained a certain fondness, since they remained in his repertoire long after the war and featured in the recitals he continued to give into his late sixties and seventies. When, in the 1930s, he was endeavouring to promote himself as a radio recitalist to a BBC establishment otherwise reluctant to take on a man they now felt to be past his prime, he made a promotional recording, not of any canonic work, but of two what he liked to call "Old world pieces" by the little known eighteenth-century French composer and 'cellist Jean Balthasar Tricklir.⁹⁰

Two further works stand out as being not only considerably larger in scale, but indicative of Fuchs's preferences for less familiar repertoire that embraced new music as well as the music he designated as "old world". On two occasions in during the war years he performed the 'Cello Sonata by Richard Strauss; once in the same concert as the Ariosti referred to above, with pianist Magda Eisele, the other at a concert in Tübingen on 17 May 1918, with Gertrud Hirzel. This is a piece which Fuchs had championed in Manchester, playing it with the composer himself at a Schiller-Anstalt concert on 21 December 1904. The other work is the 'Cello Sonata by Arnold Mendelssohn, the first performance of which he gave with the composer.

⁹⁰ This is the only known recording of Fuchs playing. He refers to it in a letter of 19 June 1937 to J.H. Morrison, now held at the BBC Written Archives. "The second matter concerns a record I have made of two beautiful Old World Pieces. It is a private one (H.M.V.) I should be glad if they could be broadcast. Could you arrange for that? If not, may I ask you who could?" The recording has been reissued as part of *The recorded 'cello. Vol.2.* GEMMCDS 9984-6. Pearl, 1992.

No programme survives, but a review of a later performance in Eisenach on 18 October 1916 alludes to the première having been given the previous winter.⁹¹ The Eisenach performance had taken place as part of a *Moderner Komponistabend* given over entirely to works by Mendelssohn. He and Fuchs has also played it four days previously at a concert in the *Haus am Walde*.

The Strauss sonata is alluded to in a letter which Fuchs received in 1916 from W.P. Geoghegan, sometime Master Brewer with the Guinness Company in Dublin and an amateur musician who arranged the Brodsky Quartet's concerts in Ireland. Dated 5 September 1916, it is presumably a lone survivor of several letters, since Geoghegan refers to having to use Fuchs's wife Nellie as an intermediary. Despite its singularity, it brings home the strength of Geoghegan's conviction that the bonds of friendship, reinforced by music, could not be shattered by war. This might well have been the reason Fuchs chose to preserve this one letter. After telling Fuchs in the spirit of reminiscence that he too has "ventured to try the duet which you played with Richard Strauss years ago that foggy night" he more than once throws down a deliberate challenge to the censor's blue pencil in voicing his own feelings.⁹²

For a long time I have been meaning to write to you, but have had the Censor before my eyes and have felt that there is so much that I would wish to say and to hear that may not be said or heard... Truly the world is upside down – will the Censor assert that it is quite normal? Anyhow I risk the statement... Now you will be weary of me and I only hope I have not offended the Censor – he may strike out the following if he likes but it will remain true in spite of him – Whatever Germany may imagine of [the] English or English think of

⁹¹ "letzten Winter zur Uraufführung gebracht". *Eisenacher Zeitung*, 19 October 1916. RNCM CF/3/5.

⁹² Autograph letter from W.P. Geoghegan to Carl Fuchs, 5 September 1916. RNCM CF/1/39.

Germans – you and I have always been true friends and shall always remain so... to the end of our days... Goodbye – Auf Wiedersehen.⁹³

Like Behrens in his letters to Brodsky, Geoghegan also attempts to send Fuchs snippets of information about musical life back home, again with an implied assurance that things are moving normally.

Speelman writes to me that he hears that all aliens (even Dutchmen) are to be excluded from Ireland, but it is of course all humbug and I have calmed his fear. They [The Hallé] are engaged for the R[o]ya] D[ublin] S[ociety] concert in November + again in January. I wonder if there is any hope of seeing you in the accustomed seat? ⁹⁴

More evidence that other letters from Geoghegan – and others - have not survived comes in a letter from Fuchs himself to his family, written in the final months of the war. Fuchs was staying at Schloss Elmau, recently constructed in Southern Bavaria by Dr. Johannes Müller as a community for German artists, and recovering from a bout of lumbago. Fuchs was reacting to news which this time was not good and his sense of despondency comes through.

So my prospects for earning money are very small. I did not expect anything else, nor have I much hope to return, as you said my class was not to be included according to rumour... How nice of Geoghegan to write and enquire

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

about my return. Of course many people ask me about it. Nearly 4 years of separation. It is too much. Let us hope, hope, hope.⁹⁵

Fuchs had good reason to be concerned for his future career if and when he returned to Manchester. The silence of both the city's press and the Council of the RMCM, compared to the concern expressed for Brodsky's wellbeing as an internee, suggests that his own wellbeing was of less importance. The *Minutes of Council*, in fact, make considerably more reference during the war years to the College's attempts to exempt existing members of staff from military service or to those former students killed in action.⁹⁶ The only oblique reference to Fuchs's absence in the RMCM *Minutes of Council* is a reference to the appointment of Walter Hatton as Professor of Violoncello in May 1917.⁹⁷ By then Hatton had been occupying Fuchs's position as 'cellist of the Brodsky Quartet for over a year and would continue to do so for several years after Fuchs's eventual return to Manchester in early April 1919.⁹⁸ On that occasion there was to be no great hero's welcome as there had been for Brodsky; the event passed unrecorded by the *Manchester Guardian*, *Manchester Courier* or *Manchester Evening News*.

⁹⁵ Autograph letter from Carl Fuchs to his family: 8 August 1918. RNCM CF/1/40.

⁹⁶ Appeals to the Military Tribunal were made on behalf of Arthur Catterall, Robert Forbes and Henry Baynton-Power. The Council was successful in the case of Catterall and Forbes, but only on condition that the case for Baynton-Power was withdrawn. The deaths in action of four current or former students are recorded: Frank Tipping, Herbert Taylor, Sydney Wilson and Charles Whitaker, MC.

⁹⁷ "Resolved – that Mr Walter Hatton be appointed a member of the College staff as a professor of the Violoncello". RNCM *Minutes of Council*: 20 June 1917. Fuchs's name still appears on this list of staff included in the RNCM *Appendices to Minutes of Council* for the academic year 1915-16. (RNCM C/2/2), but is replaced by Walter Hatton's the following year.

⁹⁸ Fuchs's *Recollections...* (pp.117-118) refer to his leaving Frankfurt on 22 March, but being delayed at Rotterdam pending receipt of a passport, which suggests that he did not arrive back in the UK until early April.

Fuchs's experiences cast their own shadow over his reappointment to the RMCM staff, which was recorded in the *Minutes of Council* on 21 May.⁹⁹ The following month Council was "Read a letter from Mr. Carl Fuchs resigning his appointment as Professor of the Violoncello on the grounds that by remaining a member of Staff he might injure the college which he loved" and minuted that "Mr. Fuchs resignation be accepted with regret".¹⁰⁰ Lack of the letter itself leaves the details of Fuchs's resignation open to speculation, but suspicion that it was residual anti-German feeling is supported by Fuchs's own comment in the *Recollections* where, with dark humour, he was later to write

...how changed was the country! How the war and the propaganda of calumny had roused everyone's suspicions! ... But many had caught the war fever... In their eyes I was a fairly respectable fellow before the war and not until I was a prisoner did they suddenly discover that they had quite overlooked my low character, my criminal nature.¹⁰¹

Not until two or more years had elapsed did Fuchs rejoin the RMCM staff, and even then the question remains open as to the extent to which he had to be persuaded, as evinced by the Council minute that "Mr. Behrens gave notice of his intention to move the reappointment of Mr. Fuchs to the staff".¹⁰² Any persuasion might also have involved an increase in salary, which hitherto had been 10/6 (52½p) per hour, since confirmation of his reappointment in December 1921 recorded that

⁹⁹ "Resolved – That Mr. Fuchs be reappointed to the staff on his former terms". RMCM *Minutes of Council*: 21 May 1919.

¹⁰⁰ RMCM *Minutes of Council*: 18 June 1919.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.118.

¹⁰² RMCM *Minutes of Council*: 24 November 1919.

...Mr. Carl Fuchs and Mr. Clyde Twelvetrees be appointed as Professors of the Violoncello at the rate of 12/6 an hour for First studies and 7/6 for second studies.¹⁰³

Brodsky had returned from internment at a time when the war was barely ten months old and its outcome as yet unpredictable. His letters to Behrens speak not only of his sense of uncomprehending frustration with a situation which was completely beyond his control, but also of an eagerness to return to the duties and activities of his daily life in Manchester and take up where he had left off, as if his absence were no more than an inconvenient temporary interruption in his career. There is an interesting parallel here with his departure from New York in 1894. Then he had been motivated, if only subconsciously, by a need to return to what he felt to be his real roots in Europe. His eagerness now to be back in Manchester suggests that, two decades later, it was Manchester which he had eventually come to feel was his home.

For Fuchs, returning after an absence of four and a half years, things were quite different. Both the press and the RMCM *Minutes of Council* make it clear that his absence, though much longer than Brodsky's, was less of a loss to Manchester and therefore less worthy of comment. Whether consciously or not, Fuchs had been forced by circumstances to re-acknowledge his German roots and to reinvent himself as a German musician. Yet by the end of the war the German community in Manchester, in which the Anglo-German Fuchs had played so important a role, had lost its cultural pre-eminence and was now treated with suspicion. The remaining chapters will aim to show how the war was creating a changing landscape for

¹⁰³ Ibid.: 19 December 1921.

chamber music in Manchester; one which was to be more than a mere temporary interruption in the career of the Brodsky Quartet and in which Brodsky's own desire to carry on as before was to prove more difficult than he might have imagined.

Ironically, it was to be Fuchs who sensed more readily the need to forge new paths within a changing post-war musical landscape. Although he was eventually to rejoin the Brodsky Quartet, his career in the 1920s was to become less conditioned by allegiance to a pre-war cultural climate which he had the good sense to realise could not be recreated. For Brodsky, attempting merely to carry on where he had left off as if nothing else had changed was to prove an increasing impossibility. Chamber music in wartime Manchester did not cease for want of a Brodsky or a Fuchs. On the contrary, as the final chapter will demonstrate, the war would give it a new impetus, but one which offered a real challenge to the pre-war cultural environment in which the Brodsky Quartet had forged its reputation.

Chapter 8

After the war - The final Brodsky Quartet Concerts

Although Brodsky's wartime internment effected a break in the activities of his quartet, the re-establishment of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts in October 1915 is a sign of his keenness to pick up where he had left off and to minimise any sense of a lapse in continuity. Some changes were, however, unavoidable, not least the loss of Fuchs as his 'cellist. There was a change of venue too. Prior to the outbreak of war the concerts had moved to the RNCM's Lees Hall, where they now remained. The move might have been made to counter the drop in income noted earlier but which the war did nothing to alleviate. The 1915-16 season netted only £47.15s.9d (£47.79). This was reduced in the following season to £13.13s.2d (£13.66) and £40.3s.7d (£40.18) in the 1917-18 season. Nor did the post-war concerts witness any improvement. The 1918-19 season brought in only £32.16s.6d (£32.82½) and 1919-1920 £43.1s.1d (£43.05½).¹ As reflections of audience size, the figures suggest that any falling off in numbers occasioned by the war continued into the immediate post-war years. This reflects the more widespread lack of public interest in chamber concerts now being openly acknowledged in the local press and to which the Brodsky Concerts themselves were soon to capitulate. 1919-1920 was to be the last season in which the Brodsky Quartet Concerts were given, with the final concert taking place on 14 December 1920. The end of the concerts can be viewed in retrospect as symbolic of the wider changes that the post-war period were to experience in the performance and reception of chamber music in Manchester. For Brodsky it also initiated a period, if not of complete decline, then certainly of

¹ The RNCM *Minutes of Council* for 15 February 1921 noted that "The Principal also reported that the last of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts had been given + that the Sustentation Fund would benefit by upwards of £50". Added in parentheses is the sum £61.11s.6d (£61.57½p). This cannot allude to the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, which came to an end in 1920, but must refer to Brodsky's Monday Noon Concerts, which briefly replaced them.

transition, within Manchester's re-emergent chamber music tradition, to a position whereby he was viewed with respect as a *grand maître* from the pre-war years.

The number of Brodsky Quartet Concerts was also now reduced from six to five and they were given on Saturday afternoons in the hope of attracting a different kind of audience from those who patronised the evening concerts, namely those otherwise occupied in the daytime during the working week but for whom Saturday afternoon would have been free time. The inconsistency in their pricing also speaks of difficulty in finding a financially winning formula. The 1915-16 season offered a subscription, at 12/6 (62½p) for all five concerts, with single concerts priced at 3/- (15p) or 1/- (5p). This rose to 13/6 (67½p), 3/3 (16p) and 1/2 (6p) the following season. Thereafter the subscription rate was abandoned and tickets priced at 3/6 (17½p) and 1/3 (c.6½p). The importance of reviving the concerts amid a relative dearth of chamber music elsewhere in the city was stressed in an advance notice that appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, which moreover opined that the move to Saturday afternoons might improve attendance by attracting visiting audience members.

It will be welcome news to all lovers of chamber music that the Brodsky Concerts are to be resumed and held regularly during the winter. They will stand more alone now, in a sense, than at any time since they were constituted. They are to be given monthly on Saturday afternoons... and should not be overlooked by visitors to the city.²

A similar notice alludes to the resumption of the Quartet's appearances at the Ancoats Brotherhood concerts.³

² "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 18 September 1915, p.6.

³ "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 7 August 1915, p.6.

The programmes for the wartime Brodsky Quartet Concerts demonstrate that Brodsky was still determined to introduce unfamiliar repertoire; if anything, the number of novelties increased during this period. A major new piece for the opening concert was the first Violin Sonata of Delius, completed only in 1914. This was not quite the work's Manchester première. That – and indeed the absolute première – had been given the previous February by Brodsky's former pupil Arthur Catterall with the pianist Robert Forbes.⁴ Moreover, both performances were given from manuscript, as the sonata was not published until 1917.⁵ Catterall's performance remained ignored by the *Manchester Guardian*; a neglect not suffered by Brodsky's, implying that Brodsky's status and presence were more worthy of record than an actual first performance by a younger and less established artist. It was not, however, an isolated instance of others taking advantage of Brodsky's absence to show that they, too, were not averse to introducing his audiences to new repertoire. Some weeks before Brodsky's return the *Manchester Guardian* had alluded in passing to a concert by the Rawdon Briggs Quartet

...[who] will give what we perhaps ought to call a Brodsky Quartet concert at the College of Music this afternoon. Chief interest will be taken in the quartet by Ravel, which was once given almost in secret, yet for a rather notable Manchester audience, by the same players, but will now, we may hope, be heard by a more numerous audience.⁶

⁴ 24 February 1915, in the Houldsworth Hall. Robert Jaffray Forbes, on the staff of the RMCM, was eventually to replace Brodsky as Principal.

⁵ MS material is now held at the RNCM MS/4. For the subsequent history of the MS, which remained in the possession of Robert Forbes, see: Threlfall, Robert. *Frederick Delius: a supplementary catalogue*. London: Delius Trust, 1986, pp.102-103.

⁶ "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 February 1915, p.6.

“Given almost in secret” – as if performance of a work so removed from Brodsky’s own preferences, and by a member of his own quartet, was itself an act of daring.

As for the Delius sonata, it is tempting to view Brodsky’s decision to programme a work which for him might have been deemed an unusual choice as being motivated by a desire not to appear upstaged in his absence by a former pupil. The decision, to say nothing of his own return to the Manchester stage, obviously worked to Brodsky’s advantage, since the *Manchester Guardian* drew attention to “a larger audience than at any chamber concert last winter” and to the sonata enjoying an “enthusiastic reception”.⁷ The audience size might, however, have been conditioned, not merely by the resumption of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, but the presence elsewhere on the programme of solid Brodsky fare in the form of Beethoven’s Quartet, op.130 which, as the reviewer continued,

...was a rich musical delight which recalled the great services which have been rendered to Manchester music by the opening out of this great field of musical composition. When the Brodsky Concerts were instituted the later quartets of Beethoven were but little known here, and except for the efforts of the Brodsky Quartet they might have been almost as little known to-day.⁸

What was once a novelty itself had now become, through Brodsky, familiar repertoire for Manchester audiences. This is the overarching theme of a review which, in devoting much of its space to making this point, gave short shrift to the real novelty on the programme. For Brodsky, pairing an unfamiliar work with an example of canonic repertoire was a ploy that had served him well since his Leipzig days, and the final seasons of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts show him resorting to it on several

⁷ “The Brodsky Concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*: 25 October 1915, p.3.

⁸ Ibid.

occasions. A rare outing for the Verdi quartet in November 1915 occurred alongside performances of Beethoven's Quartet, op.18 no.6 and Brahms's Violin Sonata, op.108. Nováček's posthumously published C major Quartet, op.13, given its Manchester première at the Ancoats Brotherhood with Schubert's *Trout* Quintet and Beethoven's String Quintet, op.29, was revived, firstly at Ancoats and then at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, this time with Dvořák's *Dumky* Trio and Mozart's String Quintet, K.593.⁹ Brodsky also revived Nováček's quartet in his 1917-18 season.¹⁰ On that occasion Samuel Langford aptly commented that "Dr. Brodsky plays the hymnus from the C major quartet by Nováček with an affection which seems more than the mere love of the music".¹¹ This remark, taken with the fact that Brodsky played the quartet no less than four times in three years, points to a parallel with the frequent appearances at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts of the Tchaikovsky Piano Trio. Brodsky was not only bringing to the music the *imprimatur* of one who had known its composer at first hand, but seemingly wanting to perpetuate in music a connection – indeed a friendship – which could no longer be experienced in the flesh.

The presence of some of the more interesting new works in Brodsky's programmes might well have been in keeping with the tendency elsewhere in Manchester to promote the music of Britain's wartime allies alongside or instead of works from the Austro-German canon. This was certainly the case, for example, in the Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts which came into being at this time and which are discussed in detail in the next chapter. This might account for the inclusion of a

⁹ The Ancoats première took place on 7 March 1914 and the revival on 9 January 1916 with Beethoven's Quartet, op.18 no.6 and the Mozart Quintet, K.593. The Nováček quartet was given in the Brodsky Quartet concert on 22 January 1916. The second viola in both the Mozart performances was Rawdon Briggs's wife Helen.

¹⁰ 29 November 1917.

¹¹ "The Brodsky Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 30 November 1917, p.6.

handful of forays into the French repertoire, otherwise largely conspicuous by its absence from Brodsky's concerts. Of particular significance is the performance of Debussy's 'Cello Sonata, initially in December 1916 and again the following March. The two performances can be explained by the fact that the first took place in poor weather which reduced the audience to a minimum, leading to a decision to repeat the entire concert at the later date.¹² The sonata, dating from as recently as 1915, was played by Walter Hatton and Robert Forbes. Samuel Langford, who made it to the earlier performance, concluded his description of the work with the comment "A sonata of more phantom-like expression and type has probably never been written", but offered no clue as to how it was received by the audience.¹³ What he did hint at, in a later review of the composer's Sonata for flute, viola and harp in a concert given by Arthur Catterall, was that it was "promised to be given at the next Brodsky concert".¹⁴ No record exists of this ever taking place, although Brodsky himself played Debussy's Violin Sonata in the final season of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, safely paired with Beethoven's first *Rasumovsky* quartet. According to Langford, he acquitted himself well in what was unfamiliar territory. Langford's equation of new music with youth makes for an interesting implied critique of Brodsky's preference for more traditional repertoire compared to some of his younger contemporaries.

Dr. Brodsky seemed to have become genuinely young once more for the concert in which he introduced the Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin by

¹² The programme also included Tchaikovsky's Quartet, op.22 and Mozart's Quintet, K.516, again with Helen Rawdon Briggs as second viola. The first concert was scheduled for 16 December 1916, the second for 3 March 1917.

¹³ "The Brodsky Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 18 December 1916, p.6.

¹⁴ "The Forbes-Catterall Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 24 March 1917, p.4.

Debussy... We wish it were possible to hope the music would always find as happy [an] interpretation.¹⁵

Not all of the new music was French. Recent English music was represented by the Manchester première of the G major String Quartet, op.25 by Arnold Trowell, given with Schubert's final quartet in the same key, and the absolute première of the Piano Quintet by Sydney Nicholson, in a concert which otherwise included a further outing for the first *Rasumovsky* quartet.¹⁶ Russia provided the most intriguing of these new pieces, given in one of Brodsky's first concerts after his return from internment and thus, strictly speaking, prior to the re-establishment of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. On 18 May 1915 Brodsky and Robert Forbes performed movements from a *Petite suite* for violin and piano by one Mesenkampff, described thus in the *Musical Times*:

An interesting feature was a "Petite Suite" by a Russian noble bearing the German name of Mesenkampff, who was captured by the Austrians on his estate in Russian Poland near the Galician frontier, and after many vicissitudes found himself a prisoner. For their mutual use and delight he composed this Suite in the French miniature style; it is in six movements but Dr. Brodsky has only four as yet. The composer is twenty-six years of age and is a relative of Rachmaninov...¹⁷

The notice adds the rider that the composer, whom Brodsky presumably met during his internment, was at that stage rumoured to be missing in action. The music of the *Petite suite* has not survived. Brodsky presented it in a concert in which he gave

¹⁵ "The Brodsky Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 5 December 1919, p.13.

¹⁶ The performances were given on 13 December 1917 and 21 November 1918 respectively. The pianist in the Piano quintet was Lucy Pierce. Trowell's period of study as a 'cellist at the Brussels Conservatoire gave him a further link to the wartime allies.

¹⁷ "Music in the provinces". *Musical Times*: Vol. 56, no. 868 (June 1, 1915), pp.365-369.

performances, with piano, of two of his favourite concerti, the Bach A minor and the Elgar.

Elgar was a latecomer to the Brodsky circle of composers. The two had met through the mutual contact of Hans Richter and by the early years of the century Brodsky and Elgar were regular correspondents, with Elgar facilitating appearances by the Brodsky Quartet at the concerts of the Worcester Philharmonic Society. In 1904 Brodsky had even ventured to invite Elgar to take on the post of Professor of Instrumentation and Composition at the RMCM. A letter containing a lengthy job description includes the flattering sweetener that

...As little as we would expect Franz Liszt to be a piano teacher, as little are we expecting from you to be a “teacher” in the common sense of the word. It is your great personality we want to secure. Your name would give glory to the Institutions and attract, I am sure, all the talent of the Country.¹⁸

and reassuring the composer that

...You will have at your disposal all the time you ~~shall~~ [sic] happen to want for composing your immortal works.¹⁹

Elgar’s reply has not survived but Brodsky’s response made it clear what it contained.

I am not surprised at your refusal. I scarcely dared to hope that you would accept the post offered to you.²⁰

¹⁸ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar, 5 April 1904. EBM L2402.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar, 5 April 1904. EBM L2403.

As with Brodsky's earlier attempt to entice Busoni to take up a Professorship at the RMCM, Elgar's response might well have come as no surprise, but in both instances Brodsky's offer stands as testament to his desire to enhance his college's reputation by associating it with musicians of the first order.

In later years Elgar did, however, make one generous gesture to Brodsky which might have proved the high watermark of the final Brodsky Quartet Concerts and a fitting conclusion to the series as a whole. This was the composition of Elgar's late String Quartet, op.83, written for the Brodsky Quartet. Yet Brodsky's own engagement with the quartet was far from straightforward, not least in that it exposed a potential rivalry between him and Arthur Catterall beyond any that might have been suggested by their performances of the Delius sonata. It reveals Brodsky as failing to seize opportunities and ceding to Catterall's eagerness to take them. Themes such as these are sufficiently evident in the early performance history of the Elgar quartet in Manchester that it merits further investigation as a case study. Brodsky's ambivalent relationship with the quartet becomes part of a larger narrative of change in the city's post-war musical environment, within which he was unable fully to regain a position of pre-eminence.

Elgar's first mention of the quartet is contained in a letter to Brodsky dated 23 December 1918.²¹

You may not remember that in years long gone by I said that if a quartet came into being it would be dedicated to the Brodsky Quartet. Well the unlikely has happened + I have written a string quartet! It might not be

²¹ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 23 December 1918. RNCM AB/728.

printed for some time to come but I thought I would send you this bare intimation... Tell me if you still play together + any news of Fuchs, etc. I have not heard anything for a very long time...

A sonata for V + pf will be published shortly and a quintet for strings and piano.²²

Elgar's enquiry makes the argument for the composer's having lost contact with Brodsky and his quartet colleagues during the war years. The argument is supported by the fact that the single extant piece of correspondence between the two in either the RNCM or Broadheath collections is a postcard from Christmas 1916 in which Elgar merely sends his good wishes to Brodsky and his wife.²³ There is no mention, for example, of either Brodsky's or Fuchs's internment, despite Brodsky's release in April 1915 being widely reported in the *Manchester Guardian* and having merited at least a brief mention in *The Times*.²⁴ In replying to Elgar's letter, Brodsky offered a clue as to an underlying reason for Hatton having replaced Fuchs.

The first two years Hatton acted as his substitute but after that in order to retain him I had to incorporate him into my quartet as a permanent member, which I did considering his splendid constitution as a great master of his instrument.²⁵

Brodsky's response is otherwise enthusiastic, even if the enthusiasm betrays a not quite complete grasp of the English vernacular:

²² Jerrold Northrop Moore, in *Edward Elgar: letters of a lifetime*, alludes to the quartet as having been completed "On Christmas Eve". Jerrold Northrop Moore. *Edward Elgar: letters of a lifetime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p.320.

²³ Dated 16 December 1916. RNCM AB/742.

²⁴ C.f. e.g. "Dr. Brodsky. An unconditional release". *Manchester Guardian*: 8 March 1915, p.3. "Release of Dr. Brodsky". *The Times*: 7 April 1915, p.5.

²⁵ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar, 30 December 1918. EBM L2405.

No greater joy you could have possibly given me than by dedicating your string quartet to the “Brodsky Quartet.” ... What an outknock!! A sonata for V. + P.!!! and a Piano and Strings quintet!!! A[t] last we chamber music people get also our due from one whom we so much admire in his choral and orchestra[l] works.²⁶

Brodsky, quite clearly defining himself as one of the “chamber music people”, also refers pointedly to Elgar’s Violin Concerto. The first reference is in a letter, informing the composer that

...I never get tired of your Violin concerto. I play it myself almost dayly [sic], as other people do their prayers. It is a wonderful inspiration which growths [sic] upon you as time goes by.²⁷

The second appears by way of a postscript in which Brodsky reproduces two quotations from the concerto and adds comments expressing his relief at the ending of the war:²⁸



Triumph! Hoorah! Victory!



Will it be a lasting peace?

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Brodsky had been an enthusiastic advocate for the concerto from the outset, as both performer and teacher. As early as July 1911 its first movement was played at an RNCM examination concert by one of his star pupils, Lena Kontorovich, and Brodsky had given a performance in Vienna with great success in January 1914.²⁹ His fondness for the piece is further referred to in a letter from Anna Brodsky to Lady Elgar, where the former comments that

...My husband's love for Elgar's concerto is still growing; he has played it twice last week in the Midday [sic] Concert and for the Ancoats Brotherhood. Some time ago he played it before a huge audience in Macclesfield and on every occasion the people listened breathlessly. Adolph loves it and makes others love it...³⁰

In citing this major Elgar work of the pre-war period, and in his direct references to the ending of the war, Brodsky appears to express a hope that the composer's new chamber works would speak with the same voice as the concerto and hark back to a golden age to which hostilities had apparently put an end.

The tone of a letter from Elgar, sent in March 1919, suggests that this was the first opportunity the composer had found to respond to Brodsky's letter of three months previously.³¹

²⁹ 5 January 1914, conducted by Franz Schalk (as previously noted). A letter from Schalk to Brodsky (9 June 1913, RNCM AB/382) deals with arrangements for this concert. In it Schalk alludes to the concerto having found little success in Vienna to date, despite performances by Kreisler and Ysaye (...*dieses Concert bis jetzt nur wenig Glück in Wien gehabt...* Ysaye [und] Kreisler haben das Publikum damit nicht erwärmen können.) A poster for this concert survives as RNCM AB/156, as does a telegram to Brodsky testifying to the success of the concert. RNCM AB 743.

³⁰ Autograph letter, Anna Brodsky to Alice Elgar, 16 February 1917. Copy at RNCM AB/925.

³¹ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 5 March 1919. RNCM AB/731. Elgar was presumably preoccupied with preparations for the first performance of the Violin sonata.

I am so glad you like the idea of the quartet dedication; nothing can give me greater pleasure than to pay this much tribute to a man whom I love to admire. Are you likely to be in London soon: Mr. Reed's quartet are ~~ready~~ reading it through + I thought I should dearly love you to hear it before printing.³²

Elgar's next letter suggests it was written in reply to one from Brodsky which has not survived, but confirmed that "The work and the quintett [sic]... will be given privately on Saturday afternoon the 26th..."³³ A correction in this letter "I have at last seen proofs of ~~the~~ your quartet" is telling, as if Elgar were reminding himself that this remained a work dedicated to string quartet who were, after all, to play no part in its creation. For, as Elgar was to inform Brodsky two days later

...The music will be at my friend Schuster's house in Westminster; tea at 4.30 – music at 5.15: the quartet, then the (the) Romance from the vl sonata + then the quintet. Sammons, Reed, Jeremy + Salmond strings + W. Murdoch, piano...³⁴

Brodsky had replied to Elgar's earlier letter by return, expressing the hope that he might be able to attend and asking for further details. The greater part of it, however, shows that his mind was still focussed on the concerto. His comments are revealing, not least for the light they shed on his approach to learning new repertoire. His confession that "When I first heard Kreisler play your magnificent Concerto I first of all used the expression I got from his excellent performance for teaching purposes..."

³² The violinist William Henry Reed, author of *Elgar as I knew him*.

³³ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 17 April 1919. RNCM AB/729.

³⁴ Autograph letter from Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 19 April 1919. RNCM AB/730. Schuster is Leo Frank Schuster, wealthy patron of the arts and the dedicatee of *In the South*. The players are Albert Sammons, William Reed, Raymond Jeremy, Felix Salmond and William Murdoch.

not only sheds light on his willingness to absorb influences from the performances of others but also offers some explanation as to the speed with which he began to teach the work.³⁵ His further admission that "...having acquainted myself with the depth and the innermost structure of that wonderful work – I then only began to study it myself and I think I got a thorough grasp and understanding of its innermost meaning..." strikes a note of paradox.³⁶ The enthusiastic teacher can also be the cautious performer who holds back before committing to public performance – which is exactly what Brodsky was to do when it came to approaching the Elgar quartet.

Brodsky also promised that he would "play your sonata next season at a Brodsky Quartet Concert in Manchester".³⁷ The sonata had already been heard in public and Brodsky's hopes for a worthy companion to the concerto might well have been confirmed by contemporary accounts. The anonymous critic of *The Times*, reviewing the work's première barely a month previously had noted that "Elgar's sonata contains much that we have heard before in other forms, but as we do not at all want him to change and be somebody else, that is as it should be".³⁸

The *Musical Times* was of the opinion that

...The Sonata shows the composer in a very attractive vein. There is an abundance of melodic interest and the working-out is so spontaneous that the

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *The Times*: 22 March 1919. The première had been given by William Reed and Landon Ronald at the Aeolian Hall, London, on 21 March 1919.

interest never flags. There should be a warm welcome for a work with so much appeal to both players and hearers.³⁹

According to Elgar's letter of 17 April the String Quartet was played at Schuster's house from manuscript. His wish to send Brodsky printed copies was delayed by a hold-up at the publishers.⁴⁰ A month later – and a week after the première - Elgar had to inform him that "I have been hoping to send you (the) Quartet nice clean copies [sic] – but its publication is deferred owing to N.L. [Novello] copyright", once more displaying ambivalence as to the extent of Brodsky's ownership of the work.⁴¹ In fact, when printed, neither the score nor parts bore any dedication, although Elgar wrote on the first violin part of the set which he did send to Brodsky "To A. Brodsky in remembrance of a promise made in 1898: Edward Elgar 1919".⁴² Although a dedication to the Brodsky Quartet is assumed in early reviews, Elgar's initial letter to Brodsky on the subject remains the only *prima facie* evidence.

Such a gift from a leading British composer could easily have given Brodsky the opportunity to accord the quartet a prestigious first performance at one of his own concerts. Yet this was given at the Wigmore Hall on 21 May 1919 by the same Albert Sammons' quartet whom Brodsky had heard play it during the private

³⁹ "Elgar's Violin Sonata". *Musical Times*: Vol. 60, no. 914 (Apr. 1, 1919), pp.162-163.

⁴⁰ Cf. Elgar's letter to Ernest Newman of 11 March 1919. "As to proofs... I have received in *two months* ten pages of the score of the Quartet... I am at this moment making a fair copy for use." Cited in Moore, Jerrold Northrop. *Op.cit* ; p.324.

⁴¹ Autograph letter, Edward Elgar to Adolph Brodsky, 28 May 1919. RNCM AB 732.

⁴² This written dedication raises the interesting question as to whether the quartet sketches which eventually found their way into the First symphony were conceived as part of a work to be written for the Brodsky Quartet. The set is held at RNCM AB 1/9.

rehearsal at Schuster's house.⁴³ More surprisingly, it was the Catterall Quartet, rather than the Brodsky Quartet, which introduced the work to Manchester audiences a week later.⁴⁴ That Brodsky was present on that occasion is confirmed by his next letter to Elgar, which moreover hints at his reaction on first hearing the quartet at Schuster's as being less than wholly positive:-

... I want you first of all to believe in my sincerity when I speak to you about my admiration for your compositions and that is the reason why I was a little reserved in my judgement about the 2nd & 3rd movements. I am happy to be able to tell you now that my opinion has been ~~thoroughly~~ thoroughly [sic] changed after the magnificent performance of your Quartet by the Catterall Quartet. I don't know now which of the movements I like best, although my inclination is still towards the first movement which is a wonderful work of art.⁴⁵

By his own admission that "For me it will be only possible to play the Quartet first approximately next season", Brodsky had still not played "his" quartet.⁴⁶ He was able to offer the practical excuse that "I am now quite cut off from my Quartet Colleags [sic]; especially Speelman is tied fast to the North Pier at Blackpool".⁴⁷ The reference here is to Speelman's role as regular conductor of the North Pier orchestra at Blackpool in the summer season. The unavailability of his "colleags" might have

⁴³ The Piano Quintet also received its first performance in the same concert; the pianist was William Murdoch.

⁴⁴ 27 May 1919.

⁴⁵ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar, 29 May 1919. EBM L2407.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Autograph letter from Adolph Brodsky to Edward Elgar, 29 May 1919. Ibid..

been one reason why Brodsky was willing to cede the honour of giving the first Manchester performance to the Catterall Quartet, yet in paying tribute to “the younger Quartets [who] do now the pionier [sic] work” he added the rider that “In due time I hope to join them, and (once having thoroughly grasped it) to play it all over the North of England and in Irland [sic]”.⁴⁸ His comment echoes that made concerning the Violin Concerto, cited above, in its admission that for Brodsky it was important fully to enter the spirit of a piece prior to performing it. Here, and in the comment that “it matters most that your Quartet should be played and admired no matter who plays it, provided the players do justice to the beautiful work” there is a certain underlying equivocality.⁴⁹ Brodsky wanted to see the work promoted, yet was reluctant to take on the task himself. At least for the present, it was for others who had “thoroughly grasped it” to undertake it.

Brodsky must have discussed the possibility of playing the quartet with his fellow quartet members, since on 7 July Speelman wrote to him asking “... when the holidays commence could I have the Elgar quartet all the parts? And if you have one the score”.⁵⁰ This implies that by the summer of 1919 any concrete plans for playing the quartet, let alone performing it publicly, had not yet materialised. A further letter from Speelman, in which he informed Brodsky that after the end of his Blackpool season on 23 September he would be travelling to Utrecht to see a hand specialist, also ruled out the possibility of their playing the quartet in the early autumn.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Autograph letter from Simon Speelman to Adolph Brodsky, 7 July 1919. RNCM AB/427.

⁵¹ Autograph letter from Simon Speelman to Adolph Brodsky, 26 August 1919. RNCM AB/428. The exact nature of Speelman’s hand problem is not stated, but his reference to it would suggest that his playing was at least compromised.

In ceding the Manchester première of “his” quartet to the younger Catterall Quartet, Brodsky was both expressing a teacher’s confidence in Catterall’s ability to carry it off and acknowledging the responsibility of players of Catterall’s generation to carry the tradition of chamber music forward into the post-war era. Brodsky was now sixty-eight; Catterall was over thirty years his junior. The latter had already displayed a willingness to engage with newer repertoire. Before the war he had formed a duo-partnership with the pianist Edward Isaacs, frequently expanded into the Manchester Trio with Carl Fuchs. His programmes with them show an enthusiasm for a more contemporary repertoire than Fuchs would have experienced as a member of the Brodsky Quartet. With Isaacs, Catterall had played a movement from Strauss’s Violin Concerto at an Ancoats Brotherhood concert in 1911.⁵² In 1913 his quartet played the Strauss String Quartet, op.2 at a concert in Belfast.⁵³ The performance elicited from the anonymous critic of the *Musical Times* the comment that the Catterall Quartet was

...one of the finest combinations of this kind in the country... Perfect unanimity, beauty of tone, and artistic phrasing characterized their performance, and no-one could have wished to hear more evenly-balanced interpretations.⁵⁴

Works by a younger generation of British composers also feature in his concerts. The D major String Quartet by Balfour Gardner was played in a concert given at the

⁵² 29 October 1911. MCL R780.69 Me51.

⁵³ Queen’s College, 8 October 1913. “Music in the provinces”. *Musical Times*: Vol.54, no. 849 (Nov. 1, 1913), p. 738.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Birmingham Theatre Royal in April 1915.⁵⁵ An Ancoats Brotherhood concert from October that year included a quartet by Frank Bridge as well as music by Percy Grainger.⁵⁶ The following year the *Manchester Guardian* noted that Catterall's taste for the innovative even on occasion extended to the ambience of his concerts themselves:

A new departure in the social organisation of chamber concerts will be tried by Mr. Catterall and his quartet at two concerts to be given by them in the Banqueting Hall of the Midland Hotel on February 18 and March 13. The formal platform will be dispensed with, and the players will occupy a position in the middle of the room, close to the listeners, who will thus have the advantage of enjoying the music in much the same manner as the players themselves.⁵⁷

Catterall might, however, have had an ulterior motive; that of making chamber concerts more attractive in the face of declining audience numbers, a point acknowledged by Samuel Langford in the closing lines of his review of the Manchester première of the Elgar quartet in the *Manchester Guardian*. Furthermore, although he understandably concentrated on describing the piece itself rather than the performance, Langford also felt obliged to begin by pointing out the anomaly that "...While Elgar's First Quartet is very properly dedicated to the most established quartet in England – the Brodsky Quartet – the Catterall Quartet had yesterday afternoon the honour of giving the first Manchester performance".⁵⁸ He added as well that "no doubt could be left in the minds of the hearers that they had heard the

⁵⁵ 14 April 1916. "Music in the provinces" *Musical Times*: Vol.56, no. 868 (June. 1, 1913), p. 365. The anonymous review referred to the work as "bright and exhilarating".

⁵⁶ 24 October 1915. MCL R780.69 Me51

⁵⁷ "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 29 January 1916, p.4.

⁵⁸ "Elgar's quartet in Manchester". *Manchester Guardian*: 28 May 1919, p.12.

work in all its essential beauty”.⁵⁹ Assuming his judgement to be reliable, Catterall and his colleagues had thus clearly already “thoroughly grasped” the spirit of the work, effectively setting a benchmark for any future performance by his teacher. Langford’s tone, however, suggests an inclination to be dismissive of the more recent repertoire which the Catterall Quartet had been bold enough to programme elsewhere. His comment that

...The three works now published by Sir Edward Elgar have a more integral quality than anything of the same kind and of the same scale that has been written in England before them, and it is not too much to say that they re-establish the art among us...⁶⁰

carries the implication not merely that Elgar had captured a spirit which had eluded other British composers of chamber music, but that he had done so by successfully reconnecting to a historic tradition which had hitherto failed to find a national champion.

Then comes the sting in the tale. Among his closing remarks is the observation that “There was hardly so fine an audience as for the first performance of the [Violin] sonata...”.⁶¹ On one level Langford might have been suggesting that a concert by the Catterall Quartet was less likely to attract a large audience than would have been the case had the concert been given by the Brodsky Quartet. On another, he was adding his voice to those of others who noted that the appetite of Manchester audiences for chamber music appeared to have been diminishing even before the

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

outbreak of the war. The war itself had moreover engendered a restriction in the number of overseas musicians visiting Manchester and created a greater reliance on native, and indeed local, performers. Moreover, the number of men – both performers and their potential audience members – engaged in military service was bound to impact on sheer numbers. “Chamber concerts now come so rarely that they are in danger of being overlooked” the *Manchester Guardian* had commented at the height of the war.⁶² A year previously it had noted that “The recital to be given next Friday by Mr. R.J. Forbes and Mr. A. Catterall ... promises a welcome resuscitation of the interest in chamber music, which has been much neglected since the war began”.⁶³ Barely had the Armistice been signed when Sir Thomas Beecham, speaking at the Annual General Meeting of the RMCM, took up the question of Mancunians’ willingness to attend concerts. Speaking of the role the RMCM would play in training a post-war generation of talented native musicians, and reiterating his dream of seeing Manchester provided with a first-rate opera house and concert hall, he chastised British audiences for shunning local musicians:

He was quite aware that, particularly in England, the element of snobbery played a great part with the public – that an artist who came from London or Paris or somewhere else got greater opportunities of success than one from the same locality.⁶⁴

A response to this perceived lack of interest on the part of Manchester audiences was the founding, in the immediate post-war years, of a number of new music

⁶² “Drama and music”. *Manchester Guardian*: 22 January 1916, p.4.

⁶³ “Drama and music”. *Manchester Guardian*: 23 January 1915, p.4.

⁶⁴ “Sir Thomas Beecham. Manchester as a musical capital”. *Manchester Guardian*: 30 November 1918, p.5.

societies, in both the city centre and its outlying regions. Some of these were specifically devoted to chamber music. One such was the Rochdale Chamber Concerts Society, founded, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, as part of a

... considerable movement going forward for the provision of chamber concerts for our Lancashire towns... One of the most important formations is that of the Rochdale Chamber Concerts Society, whose four concerts show the highest ambition and discrimination in the choice of artists and music.⁶⁵

Rochdale Chamber Concerts Society began with something of a coup, as "...The first concert will be given on November 17 by the Catterall Quartet and will include, besides works by Mozart and Borodine [sic], the new Quartet by Sir Edward Elgar..."⁶⁶

While Brodsky still appeared to prevaricate over when he would showcase the new Elgar quartet in his own concerts, the Catterall Quartet was now forging ahead in promoting the work. The Brodsky Quartet had once more let slip a potential opportunity to claim ownership of "their" quartet, although they were engaged to appear in the same opening season, as readers were informed that "the last concert will be given by the Brodsky Quartet, and will include the C major Quintet by Schubert..."⁶⁷

⁶⁵ "The Rochdale Chamber Concert Society". *Manchester Guardian*: 13 September 1919, p.6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

By delaying his appearance until the final concert of the new series and then programming a *cheval de bataille* which he had performed countless times in the past, Brodsky appeared to be playing safe. No date is given for this Rochdale appearance, but given that the previous three concerts in the series had been given at monthly intervals from mid-November 1919, it would be reasonable to assume a date of mid-February 1920. By then Brodsky had bitten the Elgarian bullet and essayed a Manchester performance of “his” quartet, having already introduced it “out of town” in a concert in Dublin the previous November.⁶⁸ Neville Cardus’s review in the *Manchester Guardian* for 30 January 1920 makes it clear that the Manchester concert had taken place the previous evening.⁶⁹ Whereas Langford, ever the loyal supporter of Brodsky’s concerts, might have adopted a gentler approach, his younger assistant appeared determined to distance himself from his mentor and challenge his readers from the outset.⁷⁰

One went mainly to hear Elgar at the Brodsky concert last night, for the Quartet were playing the composition which Elgar recently wrote and dedicated to Dr. Brodsky and his associates, but, truth to tell, it was the closing work of the evening which filled one’s heart as one left the hall, and that work was Schubert’s Trio for Piano and Strings in B flat...⁷¹

There follows a lengthy appraisal of the Schubert which has the effect of reducing the status of the Elgar quartet to a musical also-ran, and when he did discuss it, Cardus was not averse to damning with faint praise...

⁶⁸ 3 November 1919. Poster survives at the RNCM. RNCM AB/1051.

⁶⁹ “The Brodsky Concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*: 30 January 1920, p.11.

⁷⁰ Cardus did not become the *Manchester Guardian*’s chief music critic until after Langford’s death in 1927, although he had been appointed its cricket correspondent in 1919.

⁷¹ “The Brodsky Concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*, 30 January 1920, p.11.

The Elgar quartet did not find the players quite at their best. The tone was scattered, and the defect seemed all the greater because much of Elgar's writing here is so tight and resilient, the ideas leaping, or rather springing, from instrument to instrument, that only a brittle outcome and the utmost precision can give point to it all. The slow movement, though, was done beautifully, Mr. Rawdon Briggs and Mr. Speelman in particular drawing sweetness out of the swinging little melody which is used so expressively...⁷²

In the Mendelssohn Quartet, which opened the concert, Dr. Brodsky played with much of his old ease, and in the last movement of the Elgar... his playing had astonishing purity and firmness.⁷³

... or being downright patronising.

The music as a whole hardly adds to our knowledge of Elgar except in the technical interest provided by his use of the quartet form. Too many of its ideas we seem to have known better; in the last movement of the Violin concerto, for instance, and dressed there to better advantage. It is a characteristic work, and reminds one of the neat things said by Mr. [Bernard] Shaw about Elgar: "He writes like an English gentleman" ...⁷⁴

⁷² In his review of the Catterall Quartet's May 1919 performance, Langford had called **it** a "little cock-boat of a melody". "Elgar's quartet in Manchester". *Manchester Guardian*: 28 May 1919, p.12.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Cardus misjudged Shaw if he interpreted his comment as implying negative criticism. As one of those present at the private run-through of the Piano Quintet at Severn House on 7 March 1919, Shaw had the following day written to Elgar with the opinion "The Quintet knocked me over at once... this was the finest thing of its kind since *Coriolan*." Quoted in Moore, Jerrold Northrop. *Edward Elgar: letters of a lifetime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p.323. Shaw was also a champion of Elgar in the latter's final years, and was instrumental in the BBC's commissioning the Third Symphony.

For Cardus, Elgar was simply recovering old ground, a figure from the pre-war era, now unable to recapture the spark that had fired his compositions from that time. In retrospect, the trajectory of Elgar's career from the end of the war until his death in 1934 was to reveal the ironic truth of Cardus's comment. Despite Langford's optimistic reference to Elgar's "First Quartet", the three chamber works, although retrospectively acknowledged as the product of Elgar's fullest maturity, were to prove far from a new beginning in the composer's output. On the contrary, together with the 'Cello Concerto, they marked an end; thereafter came only minor works or unfulfilled projects.

There is sense too that these immediate post-war years were to become an equally significant turning-point in the fortunes of the Brodsky Quartet. Brodsky himself was now the only remaining member of the original ensemble and it was to be some time before its fluctuating membership was to achieve any consistency. Langford, writing in June 1922, hoped that "...lovers of chamber music will rejoice that Dr. Brodsky has decided once more to form his quartet".⁷⁵ By then Brodsky had also retired from appearances as a soloist, not least with the Hallé Orchestra.⁷⁶ Moreover, not only were the Brodsky Quartet giving fewer concerts, but several of the concert series in which they had forged their pre-war reputation were now no more. Brodsky himself attempted to compensate for the ending of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts by contributing to a new series of Monday Noon Concerts where, perhaps taking his cue from Catterall's reforms at the newly founded Manchester Chamber Concerts, he introduced changes in the relative positions of performers and audience in order to

⁷⁵ "The Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 6 June 1922, p.11.

⁷⁶ C.f. Langford's review of his farewell concert. "The Hallé Pension Fund concert. Dr. Brodsky's farewell". *Manchester Guardian*: 14 January 1921, p.12. Brodsky played the Bach A minor Concerto, Tchaikovsky's *Sérénade mélancolique* and Novaček's *Perpetuum mobile*.

encourage better attendance.⁷⁷ There was, moreover, to be no subscription, with the admission charge identical to that for the new Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, initiated in 1915, and aimed at a similar lunchtime audience. These are discussed in detail in the next chapter. Despite the interest aroused by the first concert, thereafter they appear to have met with mixed success. Langford's review of the second concert in the series, at which the quartet played an all-Beethoven programme, noted "there was a fair audience... but not by any means so fine an audience as the famous Quartet has attracted at the Tuesday Noon concerts".⁷⁸ He was later to comment on the series being inaugurated "with very uncertain aims" and to commend Brodsky's involvement for ensuring that they enjoyed some measure of success.⁷⁹ There was only more concert that season, which again consisted entirely of works by Beethoven: the G major quartet from op.18 and the Septet.⁸⁰ Yet, notwithstanding Langford's seeking "an assurance that the concerts will be resumed in the autumn", they proved to be a short-lived phenomenon and were thereafter abandoned.⁸¹ A later experiment with a Friday Noon Concerts series, in which the Brodsky Quartet took no part, testifies to the difficulty in establishing a concert series on any kind of secure basis. With Robert Forbes, Brodsky gave a recital of all the Beethoven violin sonatas over three concerts in February and March 1921, but these were occasional events rather than a concert series and moreover found Brodsky in highly familiar – and audience-friendly - repertoire.⁸²

⁷⁷ "Music and drama". *Manchester Guardian*, 20 November 1920, p.8.

⁷⁸ "The Brodsky Noon Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 7 December 1920, p.6. The concert had taken place the evening before.

⁷⁹ "Dr. Brodsky and the Noon Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 15 February 1921, p.6.

⁸⁰ 20 December 1920.

⁸¹ "Dr. Brodsky and the Noon Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: Op. cit.

⁸² "Mr. Forbes is also the colleague of Dr. Brodsky in three recitals at the Whitworth Hall which will include the ten violin and pianoforte sonatas of Beethoven. The dates are February 2,

In the newer chamber concert series which were now being established both in the city centre and the suburbs, appearances by the Brodsky Quartet were increasingly outnumbered by others, not least the Catterall Quartet itself. The Catterall Quartet were not only regular contributors to the Manchester Chamber Concerts, of which Catterall had been a founder member, but now had their own dedicated series, the Catterall Quartet Concerts, which had emerged during the war and were to remain a regular feature of the post-war musical landscape. Both quartets did programme the Elgar quartet in their concert series, although the relative paucity of performances would suggest that neither felt particularly monopolistic towards it. The Brodsky Quartet played it in the first of their Monday Noon Concerts, pairing it with another work which they had given countless times in the past, the third of Beethoven's *Rasumovsky* quartets.⁸³ This time the reviewer was Langford, who devoted most of his critique to the presumably more familiar territory of the Beethoven, but found room to note that the Elgar received a "splendid performance"⁸⁴ - and that, despite poor weather "...Dr. Brodsky's Quartet proved a sufficiently powerful attraction to bring together a good audience for the first Monday noon concert to be given in Manchester".⁸⁵

When they played it again, in November 1924, Langford felt obliged to be notably less complimentary, although again he drew attention to the piece with which it was

February 16, and March 2. The recitals will be given for the University Musical Society, and the proceeds will go to the University special effort fund". "Music and drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 29 January 1921, p.6.

⁸³ By this stage they had also introduced Elgar's Piano Quintet, which they performed in March 1920.

⁸⁴ "Brodsky Noon Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 23 November 1920, p.12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

programmed as being the one which received the more satisfactory performance, another Brodsky warhorse in which he could be expected to feel more at home.

Yesterday was far too muggy for happy string playing, and the Quartet of Elgar is too broken in its melodic style ... to make any sonorous impression on such a day. Its choice for the Brodsky concert yesterday afternoon was therefore unfortunate. When the players afterwards added the variations from Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet the contrast in both warmth of tone and certainty of inception was remarkable...

The broken and swift energy of Elgar's Quartet fared less well. The interpretation seemed to lack a real unity of mind, and the ideas were hardly worked with a complete unity of purpose throughout all the parts.⁸⁶

For Langford, the sticking point was the lack of unity among "four players of very distinctive individuality" who produced "an agreement not of taste, but of rough virility".⁸⁷ Given that this appears to have been the last time the Brodsky Quartet played the Elgar quartet in public, it is difficult not to imagine that Brodsky's reaction to less than kind words from his long-time champion was likely to have been "Et tu, Brute?". Only weeks before, Langford had praised the Catterall Quartet for their "fine balance and clarity of design" in Beethoven's op.131, commenting on how the excellence of the playing held the audience's attention throughout. Any continuing interest in the Elgar quartet appears to have been confined to the central movement, which the Catterall Quartet gave separately on several occasions.⁸⁸ They did,

⁸⁶ "Tuesday Midday Concerts. The Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 12 November 1924, p.11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ It was given in the same concert as the Turina quartet, noted above, as well as in Blackpool and Rochdale in 1927. C.f. "Blackpool Chamber Concert". *Manchester Guardian*: 3 March 1927, p.13 and "Rochdale Chamber Concert Society", *Manchester Guardian*, 23 November 1927, p.11. This movement was also played in a concert by the Edith Robinson Quartet given

however, return to the whole work in their 1928-29 season.⁸⁹ The Brodsky Quartet's recitals, now fewer in number and more isolated, revealed no such daring. Their repertoire continued to be much as it had been before the war, heavily reliant on Austro-German canonic repertoire. In one of their final Ancoats recitals, for example, they offered quartets by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.⁹⁰ A year later they opened the Hamilton Harty Chamber Concerts season with Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms.⁹¹ Even as late as 1926 Brodsky revived the String Quartet, op.13 by Nováček, whose music he had first introduced to Manchester audiences as early as 1899.⁹²

Elgar himself was increasingly becoming a figure from a former age - the values of which, challenged by the war, were in turn increasingly open to question. Although he continued to conduct and to nurture a growing relationship with the recording studio, he fell largely silent as a composer. Manchester did, however, mark his seventieth birthday in 1927, according him the honour of a concert devoted entirely to his own music. For Brodsky, it was to be the last occasion on which he was to perform that music in public. Two years before his death he came out of retirement to play the Violin Concerto under the composer's baton. The *Manchester Guardian* was understandably retrospective in previewing the concert, reiterating Brodsky's love for and championing of the concerto. "He may be seen to stand very much

in the Houldsworth Hall and previewed in "Special music for the Civic Week, Notes on the daily programmes". *Manchester Guardian*: 2 October 1926, p.17.

⁸⁹ Noted in "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 6 October 1928, p.11.

⁹⁰ 13 January 1924. Programme at MCL R780.69 Me51.

⁹¹ Noted in "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 31 January 1925, p.7.

⁹² The Brodsky Quartet played Nováček's Quartet, op.13 at the Tuesday Midday concert on 21 February 1926, along with Haydn's early op.17 no.5. Langford found they "hardly provided the substantial fare which a single great work supplies". "Tuesday Midday Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 3 February 1926, p.11.

alone in English music ... Elgar so far has no forbears and no followers”, commented Langford in his review, while painting Brodsky as a figure from the past “appearing once more at the concerts ... at his great age and after so long an interval of retirement” - clearly an exaggeration given that Brodsky was still active as a chamber music player - and once more alluding to his past association with the concerto.⁹³ Although Langford opined that “Elgar’s reputation is safe for a long time”, his tone suggests an occasion in which the past has somehow merely been brought briefly back to life.⁹⁴ The sense of occasion moreover dispelled any reservations Langford might have harboured as to whether Brodsky, now in his seventy-sixth year, was equal to the concerto’s challenges. “Dr. Brodsky sought his strength in the expressive features of the work and played them with so much depth of feeling that the question [of] whether he played all the bravura passage work with the strength of a player in his prime never seemed to matter”.⁹⁵

A more objective review is provided by Lionel Bradley, an amateur who appreciated music and whose detailed critiques of concerts he attended from the 1920s onwards are held at the Royal College of Music. Bradley makes it clear that he was not able to compare Brodsky’s playing with that from his earlier career.

So far as interpretation went... the composer’s intentions must have been fully realised. Brodsky’s tone was a little thin at first but warmed and strengthened as he went on. It is a very masculine work & he rode manfully over all its difficulties. One could only feel that if his playing was so good as

⁹³ “The Hallé Concerts. Sir Edward Elgar’s visit”. *Manchester Guardian*: 21 January 1927, p.13.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

this at 75 years he must have been half a century something indeed to wonder at. The whole work is so closely knit & interlocked that it is invidious to particularise – the slow movement was very fine...⁹⁶

Both composer and soloist were recalled to the platform several times. Brodsky might not have “thoroughly grasped” the quartet written for him, but in a work he had chosen to make his own he made his farewell to public performance as a soloist as he would have wished, looking to his past and leaving the future to others.

Nevertheless, while the Elgar performance provided Manchester audiences with an opportunity to hear Brodsky once more as a solo performer, throughout the decade they could still hear him as a chamber musician. Despite the ending of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and the failure of the Monday and Friday Noon Concerts, one new city centre-based chamber music series emerged to weather the uncertainty facing the future of chamber music in Manchester. This was the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, with which the Brodsky Quartet was to have a consistent involvement, albeit on very different terms and in very different circumstances from those of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. This is the subject of the final chapter.

⁹⁶ Lionel Bradley (1898-1953) was born in Manchester and later moved to London. His hand-written reviews of performances he attended were sent to a select group of colleagues. Several of his earliest writings cover performances of the Catterall Quartet at the Rodewald Concerts in Liverpool.

Chapter 9

The Brodsky Quartet at the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts

If chamber music was finding less favour with Manchester audiences in the years leading up to the First World War, then the war itself was to provide a fortuitous opportunity, not merely to initiate a new concert series, but to rethink the model on which it was to be based. Born out of the war, the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts came to reflect the changes witnessed by Manchester's cultural life as the war progressed. Implicit in both their remit and their organisation was a challenge to the pre-war pattern of formal evening chamber concerts as exemplified by the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and those that had taken place at the Schiller-Anstalt. They occupy a significant place in the career of the Brodsky Quartet as the last major chamber concert series to which the Quartet was to make a contribution, albeit as one of several ensembles rather than as the dominant one. They took their place among a wide range of performers, several of whom represented a younger generation of musicians. Many of that younger generation were, or had recently been, students at the RMCM and included some of Brodsky's own pupils.

The Brodsky Quartet's appearances at the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts were noted by the *Manchester Guardian* as being "occasional" but "have perhaps done more than anything else towards establishing [the concerts] in the favour of the public".¹ Yet the pattern of their appearances, and the equally

¹ "Music and drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 6 November 1920, p.8. Full details of The Brodsky Quartet's appearances at the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, together with appearances by Brodsky as soloist, are given in Appendix 2.

important innovations being made to the concerts by other artists, reveal this to be a somewhat over-generous compliment. If one looks at the actual figures, there were only two performances by the Brodsky Quartet during the whole of 1916, a single appearance in 1917, and two in 1918, and there were several years in the post-war period in which it did not appear at all. More significantly, Brodsky's failure to make any personal contribution to the otherwise innovatory nature of the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts can itself be read as part of a narrative of decline, in which Brodsky himself emerges as one struggling to find a role within a changing musical environment.

Initially called Tuesday Popular Concerts, Manchester's Tuesday Mid-day Concerts were founded in 1915 "in connection with the Committee for Music in Wartime, Northern Section".² The committee was itself set up on the initiative of Sydney H. Nicholson, the future organist of Westminster Abbey and founder of the Royal School of Church Music, who at that stage was organist of Manchester Cathedral. Its aim was "to help necessitous artists" and "to give concerts in the hospitals of the 2nd Western District, of which Manchester was the centre".³ The anonymous history of the early concerts from which the above citations are taken continued by noting that "...It soon became apparent that the second-named of these objects was the more important, and the effects of the Committee were concentrated upon it".⁴ Indeed, the programme for the first concert informed its audience that "...The above programme is that of a specimen Hospital Concert, similar to those

² Programme for the opening concert, 9 November 1915.

³ *History of the Tuesday Concerts* [1923]. MCL E000295755 / R780.68Me91.

⁴ *Ibid.*

which have been given in about 40 Military and Red Cross Hospitals in Manchester and District".⁵

Under the Directorship of William Eller the concerts continued under the auspices of the Committee for Music in Wartime until that committee was disbanded, and from March 1919 the concerts continued as an independent series, a major difference being that

...It is obvious that, under the changed circumstances, it cannot be expected that Artists will continue to offer their services gratuitously, as they have so generously done hitherto, but there is good ground for confidence in the future of the Concerts as a self-supporting institution.⁶

A further change occurred in June 1922, when the concerts were renamed The Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts Society. The following January the pianist and former RMCM student Edward Isaacs succeeded William Eller as the Concerts' Director.⁷

The Mid-day Concerts survived their initial conception and subsequent changes of remit to become a regular feature of Manchester's concert life and continue today as the Manchester Mid-day Concerts Society, having adopted

⁵ Ibid. The *Manchester Guardian* for 17 October 1915 also carried a notice to the effect that "Mr. Nicholson, the cathedral organist, held a preliminary trial of voices last evening for the choir which he is forming for hospital concerts and also midday concert in the Houldsworth Hall". *Manchester Guardian*: 17 October 1915, p.3.

⁶ *History of the Tuesday Concerts...* Op. cit.

⁷ Ibid. An accompanying letter written by Edward Isaacs in 1947 explains that during Eller's directorship "Sydney Nicholson asked me to organise all the Concert and Entertainment Parties, there being literally hundreds of offers of voluntary participation from the public". Signed typescript letter from Edward Isaacs to Mr. Usher, 17 October 1947; the date has been altered by hand to 20 October. Bound with the *History of the Tuesday concerts*. V.s.

the present name in 1972.⁸ Thus, more by accident than design, they became in the post-war period as much a significant venue for chamber and instrumental music as the Gentlemen's Concerts had once been and which the Brodsky Quartet Concerts had become in the pre-war era, albeit with very different aims. As their name implied, the Mid-day Concerts, given in the centrally located Houldsworth Hall on Manchester's Deansgate, were designed to appeal to those with limited time, typically a lunch hour within a working day, and therefore could never function as the kind of social occasion which had been the hallmark of the Gentlemen's Concerts. The target audience here was the city centre business class; still predominantly middle class in its make-up but eschewing the conscious exclusivity of the Gentlemen's Concerts. The latter were by now in the final stages of their decline, experiencing increasing financial difficulties and eventually coming to an end in 1920.

Announcing the inauguration of the new series, the *Manchester Guardian* took the opportunity to inform its readers that the concerts were to be more than merely a contribution to the war effort and hinting at a secondary role whereby the concerts were to take on an educational function.

On Tuesday the first of a weekly series of midday concerts from 1.10 to 1.50 will be given for business men, as part of the work of the Committee for Music in War-time. The one on Tuesday will be a model hospital concert, and will help to acquaint the public with the kind of work done by the Committee. The idea of pleasant recreation has, of course, to be kept to the fore in the music chosen, but this object is followed in a way which makes it consistent with the

⁸ For a brief overview of the Society's post-war history prior to 1972, see Antony Sluce. "The Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts Society, 1923-1972". *Manchester Sounds*: 4 (2003-4), pp.185-192.

cultivation of a sound taste. It is highly desirable that the public should get to know in this way the kind of music that is provided for the soldiers, and should also help in its provision.⁹

Given the limited time available, the Mid-day Concerts could not offer the extended programme of the kind of evening event which was exemplified by the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. Although the timing of the concerts was adjusted to 1.20 – 2pm from the third concert onwards, the intended duration of no more than forty minutes was retained. Tickets were sold singly rather than by subscription and prices were kept at an affordable level. In 1915 admission was set at 6d (2½p), with printed programmes priced at 1d (c.½p). The Mid-day Concerts were moreover not restricted to an autumn to spring season but, at least initially, took place throughout the entire year. Only in 1925 were they discontinued during July and August.

In aiming for a balance between “pleasant entertainment” and “sound taste”, the concerts were by implication constrained to present an optimum contrast within their restricted timescale and were therefore not conducive to the performance of substantial chamber works such as featured in the Brodsky Quartet’s recitals. Writing in 1937, the concerts’ second Director Edward Isaacs stressed that in assembling programmes “a most important point is the exact timing of all the items submitted” before commenting that inaccuracies in timings submitted by performers frequently resulted in a certain level of renegotiation.¹⁰

⁹ “Drama and Music”. *Manchester Guardian*: 6 November 1915, p.6.

¹⁰ Edward Isaacs. *The Manchester Tuesday Mid-day concerts and their management*. Unpublished typescript of a monograph on the organisation of the concerts, dated April 1937. MCL E000295755.

Even at the outset, however, there were further hints that audiences' enthusiasm for chamber music concerts was waning. Some months before the first concert, Samuel Langford, in a *Manchester Guardian* review of the Edith Robinson Quartet, had offered his reader the opinion that:

The war seems so violently to have affected the liking for music that not only is the supply of chamber music cut off but appreciation has been strangely lacking for the few chamber concerts we have had... The sense that in quartet-writing music is near to becoming an artifice, appealing chiefly to the initiated and the "Fancier", steals over the most musical occasionally.¹¹

Later the same year there was an allusion, mostly likely again written by Langford, to "the gradual deterioration of our chamber music", in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*.¹²

Whether or not Langford was consciously using "quartet-writing" as a metonymic reference to chamber music in general, in those instances when the Mid-day Concerts were able to programme substantial chamber works, string quartets *per se* were by no means the predominant genre. At least in the early years, works with piano are commoner, often featuring pianists who on other occasions appeared as solo recitalists. The RMCM-trained Lucy Pierce, for example, took part in a performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet in May 1916 and offered a solo recital two weeks later, which moreover included the first performance in Manchester of the Ravel *Sonatine*.¹³

¹¹ "The Edith Robinson Quartet concert". *Manchester Guardian*: 15 March 1915, p.3.

¹² "Drama and music". *Manchester Guardian*: 13 November 1915, p.6.

¹³ 30 May 1916 and 13 June 1916 respectively. The Ravel *Sonatine* was heard again in Joyce Ansell's recital on 17 August 1920.

Samuel Langford – one of the few critics consistently to review the concerts – noted the unfamiliarity of the Ravel and otherwise found that it

...showed the melodic aspects of the composer's style in a more than usual predominance... The continuity of the melodic style throughout the work is carried almost to dangerous lengths, but the piece has more warmth of expression than is found in the composer's more technical pieces, and Miss Pierce's musical interpretation would do much to recommend this as yet insufficiently appreciated pianoforte composer to her hearers.¹⁴

Brodsky himself joined Pierce and Walter Hatton for a performance of Tchaikovsky's Piano Trio in August 1916.¹⁵ By then the trio had become through Brodsky's advocacy as familiar on Manchester's concert programmes as the Ravel was unfamiliar – although, if the Mid-day Concerts really were attracting a different kind of audience, many would presumably have been hearing the Tchaikovsky for the first time. In addition to larger ensembles with piano, there were numerous violin and piano duo performances, often of a lighter repertoire and sharing a platform with vocal pieces. Kreisler transcriptions appear to have been particularly popular, no doubt by virtue of their being reasonably short as well as lightweight.

After all, the designation of the series as simply "Mid-day Concerts" implied a flexibility which privileged no particular genre.¹⁶ The preference was for a format more akin to that of the miscellaneous concerts of the early nineteenth

¹⁴ "Tuesday Midday Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 14 June 1916, p.10.

¹⁵ 1 August 1916.

¹⁶ The title was changed as of the 13th concert, on 7 March 1916. The programme for the previous concert, on 22 February, notes that "This concert brings the present series to a close".

century, with a mixture of instrumental and vocal items. The very first concert, which offered songs alongside lighter works for violin and piano played by Leonora Gray and Ethel Hall, is typical of many. The pattern moreover continued well into the post-war period. Occasional concerts also featured local choral societies, such as that by Manchester Orpheus Glee Society on 8 February 1916 or the Hallé Chorus and Manchester Vocal Society the following month. At Christmastime there was an annual carol concert given by the choir of Manchester cathedral, some of whose members also appeared as the Music in Wartime Chorus in December 1915. Some indication of the size of audiences which attended is contained in a set of programmes held at Manchester Central Library, where many of the early programmes up to July 1916 include handwritten annotations (possibly by Eller) recording the number of programmes sold. These range between 200 and 750; the higher number here being for a piano recital by Frederick Dawson given as the third concert of the series and which, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, attracted a “large and enthusiastic audience”.¹⁷

Not all concerts proved so attractive to potential audiences; a review of the second concert, given by a string orchestra drawn from the Hallé, commented that

...We are sure that if the public had appreciated how much sound and beautiful music was to be put into the forty minutes' concert at the Houldsworth Hall during the dinner hour yesterday many more listeners would have availed themselves of its pleasure.¹⁸

¹⁷ “Popular Tuesday Concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*: 24 November 1915, p.9.

¹⁸ “Tuesday Popular Concerts”. *Manchester Guardian*: 17 November 1915, p.8.

The overwhelming majority of the wartime Mid-day Concerts contained vocal items, itself an indication of the difference between these and Brodsky's own concerts. As in the contemporary concerts given under the auspices of the Ancoats Brotherhood, this was conditioned as much by circumstance as by choice. That the majority of the vocalists were women testifies to the lack of male performers in wartime, notably after the introduction of conscription by the first of the Military Service Acts in March 1916.¹⁹ More significantly, the vocal repertoire, while not eschewing Austro-German repertoire completely, offered more scope for the introduction of music from other national traditions. German Lieder did appear, as in the Mendelssohn and Schubert offered by Marie Brema in April 1916, but the evidence of the programmes suggests that German-language songs were usually sung in English and were moreover greatly outnumbered by those from other national traditions. Along with songs and choral pieces by British composers, those by composers representing her allies were particularly popular. All the repertoire sung by Manchester Vocal Society at its concert in March 1916, for instance, was English, French or Belgian.²⁰ Edith McCullagh included English and Russian songs in her recital the following September and a choral concert in June 1917 included Elgar's recent *For the fallen* as well as Russian and Scandinavian items.²¹ Two vocal recitals from 1918 are specifically designated an "All British song recital", the first marking St.

¹⁹ The Military Service Act, which passed into law on 2 March 1916, introduced conscription for single men between the ages of 18 and 41. Further legislation of 25 May 1916 extended this to married men and in 1918 the upper age limit was increased to 51.

²⁰ 21 March 1916.

²¹ 19 September 1919 and 26 June 1917 respectively. *For the fallen* was repeated on 11 September 1917.

George's Day and the second on 23 July. Audiences in the early years of the concerts would also have heard, for example, songs by contemporary British composers including Vaughan Williams, Ireland, Bantock and Quilter. This is all a far cry from the staple Austro-German fare which made up the Brodsky Quartet's core repertoire.

The vocal items at the Mid-day Concerts are not only those least reliant on an Austro-German repertoire but also frequently the most modern items in the programme. The "Recital of modern English music" given by E. Gibson Young on 20 June 1916, for example, included Quilter's song *Passing dreams*, published in 1904, and, more significantly, the organ-grinder's song *My old tunes* from Elgar's incidental music to *The Starlight express*, completed in the previous year.²² Three months later he returned to perform, inter alia, Vaughan Williams's *The vagabond* (1904), Quilter's *O mistress mine* (1905) and John Ireland's *Sea fever* (1913).²³ Bantock's *Lament of Isis*, published in 1910, was sung by Gertrude Brookes in her recital of 11 July 1916, while on 20 March 1917 Louie Fidler and A. St. Clair Stott performed Liza Lehmann's duet *At love's beginning* (1903).²⁴

Choral groups too offered English partsongs and, not surprisingly, overtly patriotic songs, such as the *Rule Britannia* which ended the concert given by the Music in Wartime Chorus and Orchestra on 27 June 1916. Music by Britain's allies was also featured. Even the Cathedral choir opted for a

²² *The Starlight express*, Violet Pearn's dramatisation of Algernon Blackwood's *A prisoner in fairyland* ran at the Kingsway Theatre, London, from 29 December 1915 to 29 January 1916.

²³ 12 September 1916.

²⁴ The *Lament of Isis* was sung again by Désirée Ellinger in a concert on 17 April 1917. The programme informs the audience that the concert was arranged in part by Sir Thomas Beecham.

seasonal concert of English, French and Russian music in their annual carol concert on 2 January 1917 and the USA's entry into the war might well have occasioned the inclusion of *The star-spangled banner* as a vocal item in the concert of 13 November 1917.

The amount of French music, and in particular newer French music, featured in the programmes is striking, and not merely for its almost total absence from the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. This latter observation is as much a reflection of Brodsky's preference for Austro-German repertoire as of the fact that the majority of French works performed at the Mid-day Concerts are either songs or solo piano music, such as Lucy Pierce's introduction of the Ravel *Sonatine* referred to above. Music by Debussy is especially prominent. By the time the Catterall Quartet gave a performance of the composer's String Quartet in February 1922, audiences at the Mid-day Concerts had already been offered the opportunity to hear a number of his songs and piano pieces. Frederick Dawson had included *Clair de lune* in the very first piano recital of the series, on 23 November 1915, and played *Reflets dans l'eau* and the *Toccata* from *Pour le piano* in his return recital the following January. Piano or choral music by Debussy featured in no less than eight concerts during 1916 alone.²⁵ There was also a performance of *La Demoiselle élue* in September 1917, in a concert that featured a second performance of Elgar's *For the fallen*.

Neither the increased involvement of female performers nor the diminished role played by Austro-German repertoire are likely to emerge as particularly

²⁵ In addition to the pieces played by Dawson: *Clair de lune* and the G major *Arabesque* (W. Scott, 15 February), two movements from *Children's corner* (Edward Isaacs, 7 March), *Hiver vous n'êtes qu'un villain* (Manchester Vocal Society, 21 March, in English), *Bruyères* and *Minstrels* (Lucy Pierce, 11 April), *Danse de Puck* (Leslie Heward, 2 May), two movements from *Children's corner* (John Wills, 4 July).

unusual themes in concerts motivated by the war effort. What does is, firstly, that they are by no means restricted to the vocal content of the Mid-day Concerts, and, secondly, their continuance into the post-war period. Women appeared regularly as solo pianists or violinists, with certain performers, such as the pianist Lucy Pierce or the violinist Gertrude Barker, returning to perform on numerous occasions. While it might be argued that such artists were occupying roles which were regarded as acceptable for female musicians, the appearance at several concerts of all-women chamber ensembles might have been seen as more novel. The sense of novelty is compounded when, as was frequently the case, they chose to offer the same canonic repertoire as that which might be played by their male peers. The Edith Robinson Quartet's debut in October 1916, in which they played Beethoven's op.95 and the Schubert *Quartettsatz*, is almost a challenge to the Brodsky Quartet on their home turf.²⁶ The previous month, two of the Quartet's members, Isabel and Mary McCullagh, had joined their sisters Edith and Helene in a concert that included Beethoven's Piano Trio, op.70 no.1.²⁷ Before the end of the war the Edith Robinson Quartet were also to show they were not afraid to tackle the heights of Beethoven's op.131. Although Robinson's quartet had been formed before the war, it was still constrained to operate in a musical environment in which professional openings for women were restricted. Speaking of the situation in London, Leanne Langley has commented on parallels between the condescending language used by the

²⁶ 3 October 1916. The quartet consisted of Edith Robinson, Isabel McCullagh, Hilda Lindsay and Mary McCullagh. The concert was announced in the *Manchester Evening News*: 2 October 1916, p.1.

²⁷ 19 September 1916. The 'cellist Mary McCullagh was a pupil of Fuchs. As early as 1906, on Fuchs's recommendation, Brodsky had invited her to join members of the Brodsky Quartet in a performance of the Mendelssohn Octet in a concert eventually given at the Midland Hall on 9 January 1907. The other extra performers were violinists Arthur Catterall and Edith Robinson and violist Helen Rawdon Briggs. McCullagh's acceptance of Brodsky's invitation, dated 21 November 1906, is preserved at RNCM AB/434.

press to report women's emergence into the hitherto male world of professional music and that used to describe the movement for women's suffrage.²⁸ In relation to Manchester, Dave Russell has reported, in the context of a reference to the Edith Robinson Quartet, that

...only four women played with the Hallé before 1914 and all of them on an instrument, the harp, which had clear "feminine" connotations. A woman's place in Manchester music was more likely to be in the teaching room...²⁹

In the case of Edith Robinson, Russell's second observation is at least partially true, as she had herself been on the staff of the RMCM since 1907 and by the outbreak of war was in charge of the string quartet class. Although born in Manchester, she had studied abroad, including, significantly, with Brodsky himself at the Leipzig Conservatoire between 1884 and 1889.³⁰ This might well offer some explanation as to her willingness to tackle a repertoire so readily associated with her sometime teacher. Her quartet was later to earn the accolade of being "the only ladies' quartet which has played the whole of the Beethoven quartets as a series".³¹ With the Catterall Quartet, the Edith Robinson Quartet represented the generation of Brodsky pupils who appeared as chamber musicians at the Mid-day Concerts

²⁸ Leanne, Langley. "Women in the band: music, modernity and the politics of engagement, London 1913". Paper given at the conference of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres: Trinity College, Dublin, 24-29 July 2011.

²⁹ Dave Russell. "Musicians in the English provincial city: Manchester, c.1860-1914". *Music and British culture: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.233-253.

³⁰ C.f. Silke Wenzel. "Edith Robinson". *Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*. Edited by Beatrix Borchard, Hamburg: Hochschule für Musik und Theater. http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/A_lexartikel/lexartikel.php?id=robi1867 (Acc. 25 February 2014).

³¹ "Robinson, Edith". *A dictionary of modern music and musicians*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1924, p.418.

alongside the Brodsky Quartet itself. Nor were they the only all-female quartet. Of the nine quartets who appeared at the Mid-day Concerts between their inception and Brodsky's death in 1929, five were all-female: the Edith Robinson Quartet and those led by Isabel McCullagh, Katharine Kendall, Rhoda Backhouse and Josephine (Jo) Lamb. The McCullagh Quartet's 'cellist, Mary (May) McCullagh, was a student of Carl Fuchs, and this quartet, too, was not averse to programming not only canonic works, but those which the Brodsky Quartet had introduced to Manchester. For a concert on 14 June 1921 they not only included Nováček's E flat quartet but were to make a "bold request" that Brodsky come and hear it.³² The tone of the request and the judicious choice of words suggests a mixture of audacity and respect, as if Brodsky's attendance were some form of *imprimatur*.

I am making a very bold request. To come to the point, and without preamble, can you + will you give us the encouragement of your sympathetic presence at the Mid-day concert on June 14th?

We are playing the E flat quartet by your old second fiddle – Novacek [sic]... If you can come + give us your blessing we shall all be very honoured + grateful.³³

Subsequent letters reveal that Brodsky did indeed accede to the request and was impressed by the performance, and that McCullagh herself was more than grateful for his attendance:

³² Autograph letter from Mary McCullagh to Adolph Brodsky, 29 May 1921. RNCM AB/435.

³³ *Ibid.* The letter also mentions that the second violinist, Gertrude Newsham, had recently left the Royal College of Music, where she had studied with [Achille] Rivarde.

It was awfully good of you to come + encourage us with your presence when we played in Manchester... We appreciated it more than I can tell you.³⁴

We cannot thank you enough for your generous words about our quartet. We met today ... + all of us are very much touched with your kindness to us. We value it far above any praise that we have had.³⁵

The remaining all-male quartets were the Hirsch Quartet, led by Brodsky's pupil Leonard Hirsch, who gave two concerts in 1927 and 1928, and the Rawdon Briggs Quartet, whose membership overlapped with the post-war Brodsky Quartet and who gave a single concert in 1916.³⁶

Although the Brodsky Quartet made the single largest number of appearances during this period (25), the remaining quartets between them made up the majority of the total number (34 out of 59), including concerts in which the quartets were joined by additional string players or pianists. The Catterall Quartet itself gave 16 concerts and the Edith Robinson Quartet nine. This situation, in which the Brodsky Quartet featured as only one of a number of quartets within a concert series, naturally offers a direct contrast to the position they occupied in their own Brodsky Quartet Concerts. A number of factors can be cited as having a bearing on this. The break in the Quartet's activities occasioned by the internment of Brodsky and Fuchs has already been mentioned. Fuchs's continued absence throughout the war, his

³⁴ Autograph letter from Mary McCullagh to Adolph Brodsky, 16 July 1921. RNCM AB/436.

³⁵ Autograph letter from Mary McCullagh to Adolph Brodsky, 21 July 1921. RNCM AB/437.

³⁶ The members of the Rawdon Briggs Quartet were Christopher Rawdon Briggs, John Bridge, Helen Rawdon Briggs and Walter Hatton. They played the Schumann Piano Quintet with Lucy Pierce on 30 May 1916.

replacement by Walter Hatton and subsequent further changes of personnel were to create a Brodsky Quartet very different from the pre-war line-up of Brodsky, Rawdon Briggs, Speelman and Fuchs. Christopher Rawdon Briggs was eventually to step down because of increasing hearing problems and his place was taken by Alfred Barker. His difficulties in maintaining a role within the Quartet are more than hinted at in a letter to Brodsky of November 1919, by which stage he was already reliant on an "Acousticon" hearing aid.

I am in great uncertainty as to what to do about our prospective engagements, because I am...still in the grip of a cold which makes me much deafer than usual... Do you think it would be better to try to get [John] Bridge (or failing him my wife or Miss Robinson) to deputise me on December 4th or 7th in Norbreck? ... PS. You see, you ought to have accepted my resignation long ago.³⁷

Simon Speelman died in 1920 and was eventually replaced by Rawdon Briggs' wife Helen.³⁸ Thus, in its final incarnation, the Brodsky Quartet was itself no longer an all-male preserve. Walter Hatton continued as the Quartet's 'cellist until 1926, at which point Fuchs rejoined the ensemble. Although it was late in the day, this resumption of a pre-war partnership was significant enough to merit a mention in the *Manchester Guardian*.³⁹

³⁷ Autograph letter from Christopher Rawdon Briggs to Adolph Brodsky, 21 November 1919. RNCM AB/ 399. The reference to Norbreck alludes to the Brodsky Quartet's standing arrangement to perform during the winter season at the Norbreck Hydro in Blackpool.

³⁸ Frank Park had been an interim replacement. Helen Rawdon Briggs also appeared with the McCullagh Quartet. She had also studied at the RMCM as a violinist.

³⁹ "Carl Fuchs returns to Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 5 October 1926, p.14.

That most of the Brodsky Quartet's appearances at the Mid-day Concerts occur from 1923 onwards - that is, when Brodsky could once more guarantee a fixed ensemble - tells its own tale in terms of stability of membership. There is moreover a suggestion of a special significance being attached to their reappearance in that year, not least in that the venue for their first two concerts was the Memorial Hall in Albert Square rather than the usual Houldsworth Hall. Their first concert in 1923 was given on 15 May. Advertising the second, on 5 June, the programme for the intervening concert (by the Choral Class of Manchester High School for Girls) referred to a "Second special concert by the Brodsky Quartet". Admission to their recitals was also more expensive – 1/6 (7½p) as opposed to the 1/3 (c.6p) for the rest of the series – and the higher cost moreover remained when the Quartet subsequently appeared at the Houldsworth Hall. It is as though something of the spirit of the pre-war Brodsky Quartet concerts was being evoked within the context of a very different post-war musical environment. The appeal to the past is made more articulate in the notes accompanying Brodsky's solo appearance at the concert on 14 December 1920. With the pianist John Wills he played the Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto; the notes (by "WLR") not only restate the familiar narrative of Brodsky's association with the concerto, but inform the reader that "the writer... had the honour of receiving him and thus to be the first Mancunian to make his acquaintance".⁴⁰ The concert also had the rare distinction of being devoted to a single work, suggesting that the appearance by Brodsky in the concerto he had premièred, and of which he was the eventual dedicatee, was enough for the concert promoters to take the risk. Several of the Brodsky Quartet's "Special concerts" in the series also

⁴⁰ The notes might also confirm that "WLR" was, in fact, a pseudonym of William Eller. As well as directing the Mid-day Concerts, Eller had been a member of the Council of the RMCM since its inception.

feature a single work and are almost alone in bucking the general trend of offering a diverse programme elsewhere. A further example is a performance of the Schubert String Quintet in January 1919.

As for quartet repertoire, the Brodsky Quartet was content to counter the varied programmes of the Mid-day Concerts by playing what it had always played. Apart from the novelty of Sidney Nicholson's Piano Quintet, revived on 26 November 1918 after its première five days previously at the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, the Quartet's performed repertoire at the Mid-day Concerts is notable for its sticking to the tried and tested. The lack of variety operates on two levels, since even within Mid-day recitals there is also a good deal of repetition. There were, for example, no fewer than four performances of the Schubert String Quintet, four of Beethoven's op.132, two of his op.135, two of the variations from Schubert's *Death and the maiden* quartet and three of Haydn's op.17 no.5. Out of a total of twenty-nine works played in total, twelve are by Beethoven including, apart from the aforementioned quartets, all of the op.59 *Rasumovskys*, several from op.18 and the *Grosse Fuge*. The number of individual composers represented only just reaches double figures.

Comparison of works played at the Mid-day Concerts with contemporary programmes given by the Brodsky Quartet elsewhere also reveals a third level of duplication between concert series. The Brodsky Quartet and Kathleen Moorhouse played Schubert's String Quintet at a Mid-day Concert on 14 January 1919, having performed it (also with Moorhouse) at a Brodsky Quartet Concert on 12 December. Similarly, the performance of Beethoven's op.132 given at the Mid-day Concerts on 22 January 1924 follows one given at the Ancoats Brotherhood on 13 January. The same Ancoats concert – the last in that series in which the Brodsky Quartet appeared - also contained Haydn's op.17 no.5, the same Haydn quartet with which the Brodsky Quartet

had made its Manchester debut in 1895. This Ancoats programme was repeated at the Mid-day Concerts on 18 March. The previously mentioned performance of the Nicholson Piano Quintet also fits into this pattern. Like the Edith Robinson Quartet, the Catterall Quartet, which frequently appeared at the Mid-day Concerts in the post-war years, did not fight shy of offering the canonic repertoire preferred by its leader's sometime teacher. For their debut in the series, for example, they performed Schubert's A minor Quartet, D.804, although they did pair it with the comparative novelty of Wolf's *Italian serenade*.⁴¹ Their next appearance, performing Beethoven's op.130 on 13 April 1920, elicited one of the few comments on the music to appear in the programmes, to the effect that "A certain solemnity attaches to the finale, in spite of its gaiety and joie de vivre", and there is even a note of reverence in its italicised continuation "*It is Beethoven's absolutely last composition*".⁴² There is also a sense of thematic programming in the concerts given by the Quartet during the 1922-23 season, where in four consecutive appearances they played the first four of Beethoven's op.18 quartets.⁴³ Yet both the Catterall and Edith Robinson Quartets were also to offer their audiences newer and less familiar works, which moreover formed no part of the Brodsky Quartet's repertoire. An earlier Catterall performance of Beethoven's op.18 no.3 was given alongside Frank Bridge's *Cherry ripe*.⁴⁴ Op.18 no.1 was followed by the Scherzo from the String Quartet by César Franck.⁴⁵ In October 1921 they paired Haydn's Quartet, op.76 no.1 with the G major

⁴¹ 19 January 1918.

⁴² The same note was reprinted when the Catterall Quartet performed op.130 again on 26 October 1920.

⁴³ 24 October 1922 – 5 December 1922 – 16 January 1923 – 20 February 1923.

⁴⁴ 12 April 1921.

⁴⁵ 24 October 1922.

quartet by Arnold Bax, barely three years after its publication in 1918.⁴⁶ One might deduce from this that they were being pragmatic in programming a novelty against a more familiar work. This was not the case, however, when they chose to perform the Debussy String Quartet with Holst's songs for voice and violin. This was in February 1922; the songs had been premièred in 1917.⁴⁷ Although this was not the first time the Debussy quartet had been heard in Manchester – it had been introduced by the Brussels Quartet at a Schiller-Anstalt concert on 9 March 1907 – it was still a sufficiently new work to merit a substantial, if not altogether objective, programme note.

In [Debussy's] works the classical methods are entirely discarded; colour, atmosphere, sentiment, half-lights, and suggestions are the prevailing ingredients of his music, and within his limits it must be admitted that his works are models. No wonder that his followers are many among the young bloods who... are in revolt against the old forms!... Some of the present exaggerations of discord, and formlessness, will disappear before ere long, but some of the new ideas will remain to keep the sacred fire of musical invention glowing.⁴⁸

The Edith Robinson Quartet too was not averse to the less familiar, including a movement from Reger's String Quartet, op.109 in a concert in February

⁴⁶ 25 October 1921.

⁴⁷ 21 February 1922. The singer was Mary Ogden. The songs had first been performed in Thaxted on 27 May 1917.

⁴⁸ The author is again given as WLR. Not for the first time, he berates those composers who, like Debussy, display "the foolish mania for giving the *tempi* in the language of the composer, when we have a 'lingua franca' (Italian) for the purposes that everyone knows. Suppose the Czechs, the Hungarians or the Finns start doing the same!". Perhaps he was drawing a blind eye to the tempo markings in some of Beethoven's late works.

1924 which included the Beethoven's op.59 no.2.⁴⁹ When they repeated it on 8 July the programme bore the observation that "Reger is a composer little known in Manchester". An even greater novelty had featured in their concert of 17 April 1923 in the form of the première of the first string quartet by the twenty-year old Manchester composer Eric Fogg, given with the *Fantasie* by Ernest Walker. Other ensembles also contributed newer repertoire. Piano quartets by Chausson and Jongen were played by the Birmingham Quartet in October 1922.⁵⁰ As the Beatrice Hewitt Piano quartet they performed a movement from Herbert Howells's Piano Quartet, op.21, dating from 1916, in December 1922.⁵¹ Edith Robinson and Carl Fuchs joined Frank Merrick in a performance of Ravel's Piano Trio, completed in 1914, in July 1923.⁵² Perhaps the most radical programmes in the entire post-war series were those given on 30 September and 7 October 1919, when Eric Fogg and James Loughlin played works for piano duet by Stravinsky, and the concert by Manchester Contemporary Music Centre of 29 September 1926, which included Prokofiev's *Overture on Jewish themes* and the 'Cello Sonata by Huré.⁵³ The 'cellist was Fuchs, demonstrating some of the open-mindedness in engaging with new repertoire which had found an outlet during his wartime career in Jugenheim. The Stravinsky was the *Cinq pièces faciles* for piano duet, dating only from 1917 and first performed the following year. The

⁴⁹ 12 February 1922. There was a further performance of the Debussy quartet by the Hirsch Quartet on 8 March 1927 (Leonard Hirsch, Philip Whiteway, Maurice Ward and Haydn Rogerson).

⁵⁰ 17 October 1922. The quartet consisted of Beatrice Hewitt, Paul Beard, Frank Venton and Johan Hock. Venton is also listed as second viola in some of the quintet performances given by the Catterall Quartet.

⁵¹ 5 December 1922.

⁵² 24 July 1917.

⁵³ The performers were Claud Biggs and Lucy Pierce (piano), Harry Mortimer (clarinet), Leonard Hirsch and Philip Whiteway (violin), Maurice Ward (viola) and Carl Fuchs ('cello).

performance on 30 September is noted as “The first time in Manchester”; they were played again in the concert on 7 October.

Despite the innovative nature of the Mid-day Concerts and notwithstanding the emergence of new and younger performers, the post-war press still felt moved to note a problem in revitalising chamber music concerts in Manchester. The problem was even taken up at national level by *The Times*, who saw it as part of a general malaise affecting the city’s post-war musical life.⁵⁴ An article in the *Manchester Guardian* from 1922 merits quoting at length as it provides a useful overview of the contemporary situation.

Chamber music is not merely in the eyes of the purist the most delectable form of music but better than any other music it serves functions without the fulfilment of which the art of music cannot completely prosper... A city also needs some form of musical society which... can welcome every eminent musician of the world in a fitting manner. Manchester was, until a very few years ago, very well circumstanced for providing this last hospitality. It is no more. The most eminent musicians may come and go, and they might also go to what as well are the most musically uncultured places in the world... for any official notice that is taken of their coming. That state of things needs quickly to be altered, and it cannot be altered until there is established a chamber concerts society or its equivalent which is representative of the city.

The Manchester Chamber Concerts, which were inaugurated in the Lesser Free Trade Hall yesterday evening, and are founded by Mr.

⁵⁴ C.f. “Municipal music. A Manchester proposal”. *The Times*: 25 September 1920, p.8.

Hamilton Harty and the Catterall Quartet, lay claim by their very title to be an organisation of this representative kind... One must regret that the Gentlemen's Concerts were not kept alive somehow or other as a nucleus for these efforts. With Mr. Catterall as a colleague, Mr. Harty begins his attempt to solve this great social problem of music...

It is now eight years since we had such a representative series of chamber concerts in this city. Much has been done to keep chamber music alive by the Brodsky Concerts, and the Chamber Concerts of the Gentlemen's Concerts Society, but all have been carried on under a cloud. Now the time has come for our musical society to pull itself together, and make our evenings, in the intimate as well as the stately sense, musical.⁵⁵

In the same issue, Langford's review of the inaugural concert to which he referred once again drew attention to the smallness of the audience, as if to highlight the size of the challenge being faced.⁵⁶ The dearth of foreign musicians also impacted on Brodsky's own activities as a teacher. The student registers of the RMCM show that prior to the war he was able to attract a small but highly talented number of overseas students; at that stage effectively the only overseas members of a student body otherwise largely drawn from Manchester and the North West. They included Joel Kessler and Anton Maaskoff from New York and the Russians Naum Blinder and Lena

⁵⁵ "The Manchester Chamber Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 31 October 1922, p.8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.16.

Kontorovich.⁵⁷ After the war there were virtually no overseas students and certainly none who were violinists. The number of violin students *per se* is also reduced during the 1920s, from which one can infer that Brodsky's teaching commitments were consequently also reduced.

Although the role of the Brodsky Quartet is acknowledged in the article, it is the Catterall Quartet, and in particular Catterall himself, who are singled out for their initiative as co-founders of this new enterprise. Catterall's concerts were equally enterprising in their willingness to programme more contemporary repertoire and moreover from a wide range of national traditions, even including a piece by a local composer, the *Four Lancashire sketches* of Mr. George Whitteker of Rochdale. Elsewhere he was prepared to offer such unfamiliar works as the Debussy quartet mentioned above,⁵⁸ and quartets by Gretchaninov⁵⁹ and Turina⁶⁰ as well as Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht*.⁶¹ Brodsky's later concerts show no such variety.

For the Brodsky Quartet there was, however, one radically new element that impacted on their performances which the pre-war era might not have foreseen. The establishment of the British Broadcasting Company – later

⁵⁷ RMCM/E/2/1 and E/2/2. Anton (Tony) Maaskoff entered the RMCM as a boy of 13 and stayed with the Brodskys at their home in Bowdon, effectively as an adoptive son to the childless couple. Prior to entering the college he had accompanied the Brodskys on their visit to the Griegs in 1906. Lena Kontorovich's name does not appear in the student registers, but she is listed as taking part in student concerts.

⁵⁸ Tuesday Mid-day Concerts. Noted in "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 18 February 1922, p.6.

⁵⁹ Edward Isaacs Chamber Concerts. Noted in "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 2 December 1922, p.7.

⁶⁰ Lesser Free Trade Hall, 11 January 1928. Reviewed in the *Manchester Guardian*: 12 January 1928, p.13.

⁶¹ Two performances, noted in "Manchester music. The coming season". *Manchester Guardian*: 24 September 1927, p.13 and "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 24 March 1928, p.11.

Corporation – in 1922, with one of its three national offices in Manchester, allowed the Quartet to reach a wider simultaneous audience than at any other time in its career. As Jennifer Doctor has pointed out, in the period during which the BBC began to broadcast from Manchester, ownership of radios rose steadily.⁶² Ownership stood at just over 2,000,000 in 1926, which was the first full year in which concerts by the Brodsky Quartet were broadcast, and was just under 3,000,000 in 1929, the year of Brodsky's death.

Although no administrative documentation pertaining to the Brodsky Quartet's broadcasts survives at the BBC Written Archives, the evidence of both the *Radio Times* and listings in the Manchester press testify to selected Tuesday Mid-day Concerts and others featuring Brodsky or his Quartet being broadcast from November 1925 onwards. The first was one of the "special concerts" at which the Brodsky Quartet played Beethoven's Quartet, op.130 – incidentally another single-work concert – and was broadcast on 24 November 1925.⁶³ A further broadcast the following month is listed in the *Observer* simply as "The Brodsky Quartet"; no details of repertoire are given, but the two-hour slot on a Sunday afternoon might suggest a studio broadcast.⁶⁴ The next broadcast, however, was of another of the Brodsky Quartet "Special concerts" at the Mid-day Concerts. This was the one referred to in the previous chapter which included Nováček's Quartet, op.13. It was paired with a Haydn quartet.⁶⁵

⁶² Jennifer Doctor. *The BBC and ultra-modern music, 1922-1936: shaping a nation's tastes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 (Music in the 20th century), pp.19-20.

⁶³ "Next week's special programmes". *Manchester Guardian*: 20 November 1925, p.7.

⁶⁴ "Features of the week". *Observer*: 5 December 1925, p.28.

⁶⁵ "Today's wireless programmes". *Manchester Guardian*: 2 February 1926, p.11.

From hereon recitals given in Manchester, and particularly at the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, became a staple of BBC music broadcasts from Manchester. By no means all featured the Brodsky Quartet. Performances by the Catterall Quartet, including that of *Verklärte Nacht* referred to above, were also broadcast.⁶⁶ In one sense it was something of a gamble, as the ability to hear the music on the radio risked reducing the size of a live audience. The *Manchester Guardian* might have had this in mind when it noted *à propos* the 1928-29 Mid-day Concerts season that

...This splendid series of concerts has had to battle hard for its existence, and it is sincerely to be hoped that it will receive a wider encouragement this year than has been the case of late. Manchester can boast of a feature that has no substantial counterpart even in London.⁶⁷

Although the Brodsky Quartet appeared as only one of several ensembles, they became the most consistently broadcast, with all but a few of their concerts being relayed. As the new medium took hold, the opportunity was also taken on occasion to inform listeners about music to be heard and those playing it. Fuchs's return to the quartet in October 1926, for example, and the fact that the concert was to be broadcast did not go unreported.⁶⁸ Langford's review of the concert noted "a real enthusiasm for the first time in the season"

⁶⁶ 28 March 1928. The extra players were Stewart Redfern (viola) and Carl Fuchs ('cello). C.f Doctor. Op. cit., p.344.

⁶⁷ "Wireless notes and programmes. Orchestra at Midday Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 16 August 1928, p.10.

⁶⁸ "Carl Fuchs returns to Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 5 October 1926, p.14. The Brodsky Quartet played Haydn's op.17 no.5 and Beethoven's op.18 no.2. See also "Today's wireless programmes". Ibid.

and that Fuchs's reappearance "made possible a more refined ensemble of the four players... The Quartet has now once more a constitution which gives promise of some permanence..."⁶⁹ Two months later, notice of a Mid-day Concert to be broadcast the following day included a brief biographical sketch of Brodsky himself, reminding readers and listeners of the origins of the Brodsky Quartet in Leipzig and its long pedigree.⁷⁰ The same concert, at which the Quartet played Mozart's Quartet, K.590, the variations from Schubert's *Death and the maiden* quartet and the last of Beethoven's op.18 quartets, also attracted the attention of the *Radio Times*, which provided its readers with a printed guide to the Beethoven.⁷¹ Two years later the *Manchester Guardian*, in previewing a forthcoming concert which was to include Beethoven's op.130, saw fit to comment that

...The Brodsky Quartet was formed... when Dr. Brodsky was appointed to the Violin Professorship at the Leipzig Conservatoire, and it was there that he and his colleagues made a special study of the later and more difficult Beethoven quartets, which up till then had been very little heard, and certainly hardly ever understood.⁷²

Brodsky's ability to reach a wider audience through radio broadcasts is likely also to account for the appearance of C.A. Bell's biographical article in *The Strad* at such a late stage in his career.⁷³ The general tenor of all these

⁶⁹ "The Tuesday Midday Concerts". *Manchester Guardian*: 6 October 1926, p.10.

⁷⁰ "Weekend wireless notes and programmes. The Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 4 December 1926, p.14.

⁷¹ "Chamber music". *Radio Times*: Issue 166 (3 December 1926), p.11.

⁷² "Wireless notes and programmes. The Brodsky Quartet". *Manchester Guardian*: 31 January 1928, p.12.

⁷³ C. A. Bell. "Adolph Brodsky". *The Strad*: XXXIX, No.458 (June, 1928), pp.88-92.

references, however, is retrospective, stressing the past achievements of Brodsky and his quartet rather than highlighting current activities.

Bell's article was published in June 1928. Brodsky was by then seventy-six, yet he still continued to perform as a chamber musician. That year he gave seven broadcast recitals for the Mid-day Concerts, all but one of them as leader of his quartet. The exception was a recital of piano trios with Kathleen Moorhouse and Eric Fogg.⁷⁴ As might be expected at this stage, there was no new repertoire. Instead he offered works he had played countless times before: Beethoven's *Rasumovsky* quartets, op.130 and his beloved Haydn op.17 no.5 among them. He ended the year with another "Special concert", devoted to Tchaikovsky's second quartet, op.22. It was to be his last. On 22 January 1929 Brodsky died after a short illness. A funeral service at Altrincham Unitarian Church was followed by cremation at Manchester's Southern Cemetery.⁷⁵

An obituary by Neville Cardus appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* the day after Brodsky's death; it was reproduced, uncredited, in the *Musical Times* the following month.⁷⁶ While, understandably, confining himself largely to a factual account of Brodsky's career, Cardus attempts an evaluation of Brodsky's contribution to the musical life of Manchester. It is not without the damning with faint praise which had characterised his review of the Elgar

⁷⁴ 30 October 1928. The programme was a substitution for a planned concert by the Northern String Quartet and featured Schumann's D minor Trio op.63 and Dvořák's *Dumky* Trio, op.90. C.f. "Chamber music". *Radio Times*: Issue 265 (26 October 1928), p.27.

⁷⁵ Anna Brodsky survived her husband by less than a year, dying in October 1929.

⁷⁶ "Dr. Adolph Brodsky". *Manchester Guardian*: 23 January 1929, p.7. "Obituary". *Musical Times*; Vol.70, no. 1032 (February 1, 1929), p. 174.

String Quartet. He opines, for instance, that Brodsky “had not a warm sensuousness of tone; his tone, indeed was not infrequently thin”, or that “he needed to be in the right mood, for his technique had not that flawless, absolute quality which can work well enough without the urge of a temperament”.⁷⁷ This accords with Brodsky’s own comments to Elgar about the need to have “thoroughly grasped” the essence of a work. Cardus, though, also comes closer than ever Langford was wont to do in capturing the experience of witnessing Brodsky in performance. There are, after all, no known recordings of Brodsky’s playing.

Manchester will remember always the way Dr. Brodsky would lead his quartet, how he would lie back and give himself up to a noble phrase; how, in a slow movement, you could see his very soul turning upon itself, retiring to the music’s peaceful sanctuary. Then, with the advent of a quick movement, how he would relax genially, as though saying to us, “That was a very solemn music; now let’s have a merry bit!”.⁷⁸

Cardus duly mentions the significance of Brodsky’s privileged position in being able to count among his circle several of those composers whose music he championed, but places as much emphasis on his role in bringing that music to Manchester audiences and his role in nurturing a generation of Manchester musicians.

The man in the street knew and loved Brodsky mainly because of the Brodsky Quartet. In Manchester the Quartet... laid down a tradition of chamber music second to none in this country... At the Royal Manchester College of Music he was guide, philosopher and friend.

⁷⁷ Dr. Adolph Brodsky”. *Manchester Guardian*: Op. cit.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Among his more famous pupils are Anton Maaskoff, Lena Kontorovich, Arthur Catterall [and] Alfred Barker. But his splendid influence went to work in countless unobtrusive ways... and you could get the sense of his presence any Thursday evening in the string playing of the Hallé Orchestra... But Brodsky was far more than a musician; he was a rare spirit, made wise through long devotion to life and to art.⁷⁹

Obituaries are by nature eulogistic. Cardus's appreciation of what Brodsky had brought to Manchester came at a time when the city recognised that it stood at a musical crossroads with no certain indication of which direction to take. Less than a year after Brodsky's death the *Manchester Guardian* once again took up the theme of the contrasting situations before and after the war, drawing particular attention to chamber music.

...Take away the Hallé Concerts and Manchester at the present time would musically be indistinguishable from countless little home-towns of the North of England. The city has quickly betrayed the great chamber concert tradition established in part by Dr. Brodsky... Before the war Manchester welcomed the world's greatest chamber musicians. If we would realise how enormously Manchester's musical life has narrowed and grown like that of any other city outside London, we need only to refer to what was happening here in 1904... And what a succession of great artists came to our chamber concerts then!... It is almost an occasion for inquiry that to-day Manchester should be starved of chamber music – a poor return for work achieved in the past by Dr. Brodsky, Mr. Max Meyer, Mr. Carl Fuchs, Mr. Arthur

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Catterall, Miss Edith Robinson, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Rawdon Briggs, and many other musicians who loved their art for its own sake.⁸⁰

For the anonymous writer, it is the great artists, rather than what they played, who characterised the pre-war chamber music tradition. By that argument, the innovative nature of the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts, for all their rethinking of the model or their introduction of contemporary repertoire, could never recapture the spirit of a pre-war golden age. In that context, Brodsky's passing was mourned, not merely as the loss of a musician, but as the loss of a tradition which he represented. Brodsky had been a pioneer. Others might have carried their pioneering spirit forward into the new era – and the post-war career of Carl Fuchs, although beyond the scope of this study, offers a case in point – but that was not the case with Brodsky. Such was his status as a symbol of pre-war music-making that at his death Manchester was more mindful of what it believed it had lost than what it was already achieving.

⁸⁰ "Music and Drama". *Manchester Guardian*: 21 December 1929, p.9.

Conclusion

The Introduction to this study notes that historiographic references to Adolph Brodsky have hitherto regarded him as little more than “a footnote to the career of Tchaikovsky”. The overarching aim of the thesis was therefore to argue a case for Brodsky being worthy of study as a musician in his own right. In this respect it can claim to have a pioneering role. It also contributes to a broader musicological discourse that aims to widen traditional musical historiography to engage with such issues as performers, audiences, repertoire and their mutual interactivity. In focussing on Brodsky’s career in Manchester it demonstrates the extent to which his prior contacts and experiences coloured the contribution he was able to make to the city’s chamber music culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It thereby fulfils an important secondary role as the first detailed study of chamber music *per se* in Manchester during this period, challenging the popular perception of the classical musical life of the city during these years as being defined solely by orchestral music.

The research process has generated a number of themes, some of which can be identified as central to the main argument and others as fruitful areas of future research. It was not always easy to view these themes as discrete or self-contained, since they often overlap to present a complex pattern of interactions. Conclusions drawn from one thematic strand are therefore liable to be contingent on those drawn from another. The following serves by way of a summary.

Contextualising Brodsky's Manchester career

The “backstory” prior to Brodsky's arrival in Manchester in 1895 proved to be of increasing significance and consequently demanded to be dealt with in some detail. This divides into two main strands. In the first, Charles Hallé's early chamber concerts and his reforms to the structure of the Gentlemen's Concerts are shown to have encouraged the growth of a chamber music tradition with a strong appeal to Manchester's influential German community, and that it was to Brodsky's advantage to be able to present his concerts to a largely ready-made audience.

This last point links to the second strand: Brodsky's own immersion in and promotion of an Austro-German repertoire, which is shown to have played its own part in facilitating the success of his concerts in Manchester. The need to research Brodsky's chamber concerts in Leipzig was assumed from an early stage, and the opportunity that the Leipzig period afforded to establish links with several contemporary musicians was, given a prior knowledge of the RNCM Brodsky Archive, something of a predictable outcome. What was less predictable was the extent to which Brodsky prioritised the maintenance of those links in Manchester despite finding himself in a position more demanding than he envisaged.

The greater significance of this is seen when the context is widened to include Brodsky's experience as leader of the New York Symphony Orchestra. Despite offering the opportunity for him to continue to give chamber concerts, it provoked him into a realisation of the extent to which he needed to preserve a sense of connectedness to his European roots. An initial sense that the New York seasons were no more than a brief interlude between Leipzig and Manchester thus led to the

conclusion that this needed to be viewed as a vital watershed in Brodsky's career. He faced a far-reaching professional decision, leading him to question his own artistic values and to confront the limits of his own willingness to remain estranged from his European cultural roots.

Brodsky in Manchester

The period encompassed by Brodsky's time in Manchester began in the cultural and social environment of the late nineteenth century and moved through the great watershed of the First World War towards the culturally fragmented world of the early twentieth. The challenge this posed to the continuance of the city's chamber music tradition formed a broader context in which to assess Brodsky's concert activities. The pattern which emerged was one of Brodsky's increasing difficulty in meeting the challenge posed by changes in the make-up and musical preferences of his audiences. Through the establishment of the Brodsky Quartet Concerts and his contribution to other concert series he quickly established for Manchester a reputation for excellence in chamber music that complemented the orchestral tradition which Hallé had nurtured. A single, named, resident string quartet thus came to be identified with Manchester at a time when no such comparable situation existed elsewhere in the country; least of all in London. Brodsky's ability to balance a mixture of canonic repertoire and newer works by those in his Leipzig circle proved successful, however, so long as Manchester could provide audiences whose outlook was predominantly Europe-facing. That Brodsky sought Busoni as a potential Professor of Piano at the RMCM proved an exciting discovery, but its greater importance is that he did so largely because he thought that Manchester deserved a big name with international standing.

The potential for this balance to be compromised by the outbreak of the First World War was envisaged at an early stage as a likely research outcome. Further research revealed that the decline in public interest had already started to make itself felt in the years leading up to the war, placing Brodsky within a changing musical environment which he was increasingly unable to influence. These observations themselves hinge on further thematic strands. One is what can be ascertained about the changing nature of audiences for chamber music; another is the vital role of the press in reporting it. The importance of the press in providing the kind of contextual information which concert programmes alone fail to give cannot be stressed too strongly, particularly as it was initially felt that personal correspondence might provide at least as much of this information. This was quickly realised not to be the case.

The First World War

The impact of the First World War is the last major theme to be addressed in this study, although by no means the least important. Once more, it gives rise to strands that interact, since the changes it brought about in Manchester's approach to chamber music concerts placed a different perspective on Brodsky's contribution. The thesis shows that Manchester began to rethink the very model that Brodsky's chamber concerts had done so much to establish. The war and its aftermath gave rise to cultural dilemmas concerning the centrality of an Austro-German tradition within the city's chamber concerts that Brodsky was not able to resolve. The narrative of his final decade was one in which he became increasingly distanced from a changing cultural landscape, within which his own position altered from being a central figure to one now standing on the periphery.

It is important to stress here that Brodsky's diminished role should be seen within a broader context of a growing revitalisation of chamber music in Manchester, the causes of which lay elsewhere. The two case studies focussing on the Ancoats Brotherhood and the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts show that the war years coincided with the professional maturity of a younger generation of RMCM-trained musicians, some of whom were Brodsky's pupils. They too were able to introduce their audiences to new music, which moreover did not rely so heavily on the Austro-German canon. The greater opportunities that the war brought to female musicians is also noted as a feature of these two concert series. Manchester produced a number of all-female string quartets, equally able to take on the repertoire associated with the Brodsky Quartet and to perform works by contemporary composers. The war itself reduced the amount of Austro-German repertoire in Manchester's concerts, facilitating an increased presence in particular for French or British music, which barely featured in Brodsky's concerts.

Scope for further research

Despite the evidence of numerous references to the activities of the Brodsky Quartet outside Manchester, any detailed examination of this lay outside the limitations adopted for the study itself. If it is in the nature of research questions to throw up further questions, then addressing this one emerges as a potentially rewarding topic for further investigation. Brodsky's role as a teacher and college Principal, while acknowledged, also lies outside the scope of this dissertation and therefore offers another topic which might form the basis of future research. The final chapters demonstrate that by the final decade of Brodsky's life his former pupils were

establishing their own professional careers. Alfred Barker became his second violin. Arthur Catterall formed his own quartet and began his own concert series in a move which could be seen as a challenge to the Brodsky Quartet's status. Edith Robinson's quartet was one of several that symbolised the increasing professional opportunities now being opened up for female musicians in the post-war period.

The achievements of Brodsky's pupils – not just these, but others such as Anton Maaskoff, Naum Blinder or Lena Kontorovich – form an important strand in his legacy. Any one of these could offer possibilities for further research. Catterall, for example, became leader of the BBC Symphony Orchestra; the large amount of material relating to him held at the BBC Written Archives alone provides sufficient scope for further study of his career. While an increased role for female musicians during and after the First World War was something of an expected research outcome, the extent to which they were able to function as agents of innovation in the performed repertoire was not. The historiography of women as performers has hitherto paid scant attention to Manchester. There is no mention of Edith Robinson, for instance, in Laura Seddon's recent monograph *British women and instrumental chamber music in the twentieth century*.¹ There is scope here for pursuing Manchester's role in the emergence of all-female quartets in the early twentieth century and thus to contribute to research being undertaken by others, such as Christina Bashford's investigation of what she terms British "violin culture" during this period.²

¹ Seddon, Laura. *British women and instrumental chamber music in the twentieth century*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

² C.f. www.music.illinois.edu/faculty/christina-bashford (Accessed 22 December 2015).

Legacy

Tributes to Brodsky written during his final years or which followed his death stress the important role he played in providing Manchester with an enviable chamber music tradition before the war but pay less attention to more recent years. In that sense, in the 1920s Brodsky was already becoming his own legacy, one able to contribute to a chamber music tradition he had nurtured, but no longer as an initiator or innovator. During this period, this tradition was in a state of flux, unable to recreate the cultural climate of the pre-war years but as yet unsure of what might take its place. It thus links to national narratives of the post-war period in British music and the search for other than German-derived models within which to articulate them. Within this changing musical climate Brodsky emerges as one whose cultural roots lay in the past. He consequently became a representative of a bygone age, unable fully to engage with the present. Yet even a straightforward division into pre-war/post-war emerges as simplistic. If Brodsky's audiences were able to draw on Manchester's German community, then the impact of the war on audiences was predictable. Less predictable, as noted above, was that the decline in audiences for chamber concerts, on the evidence of the Manchester press, was already underway some time before the war itself. This offers the potential for comparison with patterns of audience reception in contemporary chamber music concerts outside Manchester.

This study has aimed to examine the role played by a specific performer in shaping the musical life of one particular city, during a given period and within a distinctive genre. It has attempted to close some of the gaps in the hitherto fragmentary narrative of Manchester's musical history in the hope that it might contribute to an ever-widening discourse of music-making in Britain. It is a discourse in which

performers and audiences are gradually being accorded as much importance as composers. Looking back at Brodsky's contribution from an early twenty-first century vantage point, one might say that the seeds he sowed have ultimately borne fruit. Chamber music is alive and well in Manchester. The Mid-day concerts survive, the Manchester Chamber Concerts, founded in 1936, still draw good audiences to their Monday evening concerts, the University of Manchester maintains a resident quartet and chamber music is a major area of study at the RNCM. Even the Brodsky brand lives on in the current, Manchester-trained, Brodsky quartet. Mancunians seeking to honour Brodsky's legacy now might well echo Christopher Wren's famous epitaph in St. Paul's cathedral: *Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.³

³ Reader, if you seek his monument, look around you.

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APPENDIX 1**Adolph Brodsky - A timeline****1851**

21 March (OS) / 2 April (NS): Adolph Brodsky born in Taganrog, Odessa

1856

Receives his first tuition in violin

1860

Gives his first public concert in Odessa. Begins violin studies with Joseph Hellmesberger in Vienna

1860-1870

Resident in Vienna. Plays in Hellmesberger's chamber concerts and the Imperial Court Orchestra. First meetings with Hans Richter and Brahms

1865

3 June: Carl Fuchs born

1866

1 April: Busoni born. 13 May: Nováček born

1869

8 October: Christopher Rawdon Briggs born

1870-1874

Tours Russia as a soloist

1874-1878

Settles in Moscow, where he is appointed a Professor of Violin at the Conservatoire.

1874

First meeting with Tchaikovsky

1878-1880

Conducts the Kiev Symphony Orchestra

1880-1883

Tours Europe as a soloist

1880

1 May (OS) / 14 May (NS): marriage to Anna Lvovna Skadovsky

1881

4 December: premières Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in Vienna, conducted by Hans Richter

1882

8 May: gives the UK première of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in London, conducted by Hans Richter, having previously performed it privately in the capital

1883-1891

Professor of Violin at the Leipzig Conservatoire. Founds the first Brodsky Quartet. First meetings with Grieg, Busoni and Sinding; renewed contact with Brahms and Tchaikovsky. Pupils at the Conservatoire include Ottakar Nováček and Edith Robinson

1891-1893

Spends winter seasons in New York, following appointment as leader of Walter Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra, but remains active as a chamber musician as leader of Damrosch's quartet. Renews contact with Nováček, with whom he performs in both the orchestra and the quartet.

1893

25 October (OS) / 6 November (NS): Tchaikovsky dies. December: Brodsky leaves the New York Symphony Orchestra after a disagreement with Damrosch.

1894

Summer: Leaves New York and settles in Berlin. December: receives Charles Hallé's invitation to lead the Hallé Orchestra and become Professor of Violin at the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM)

1895-1929

Professor of Violin at and subsequently Principal of the RMCM

1895

20 September: formally takes up Professorship of Violin at the RMCM

25 October: Charles Hallé dies. Brodsky appointed his successor as Principal of the College. Forms a new Brodsky Quartet. 11 November: first public performance by the new quartet at Manchester's Schiller-Anstalt

1896

Inaugurates the Brodsky Quartet Concerts. 24 February: first concert of the series given at the RMCM. 15 November: Brodsky Quartet's first appearance at the Ancoats Brotherhood. 16 December: First Brodsky Quartet Concert in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall

1897

3 April: Brahms dies. 17 November: Busoni's concert debut in Manchester. 24-26 November: Grieg and his wife visit Manchester

1898

19 October: Brodsky Quartet Concerts move to the Association Hall

1900

First meeting with Elgar, through the agency of Hans Richter. 3 February: Nováček dies

1901

14 November: appointed a lecturer at the Victoria University of Manchester

1902

1 March: awarded an honorary doctorate by the Victoria University of Manchester

1903

Moves from 41 Acomb Street, Manchester, to 3 Laurel Mount, Bowdon. Midland Hotel opens on the site of the demolished Gentlemen's Concert Hall. 4 November: Brodsky Quartet gives its first concert there, in the Midland Hall

1904

21 December: final appearance at the Schiller-Anstalt

1905

1 November: Brodsky Quartet Concerts return to the Association Hall

1906

Last meeting with Grieg, during a summer visit to Bergen

1907

9 January: Brodsky Quartet Concerts return to the Midland Hall. 4 September: Grieg dies

1911

1 November: Brodsky Quartet Concerts return to the Association Hall

1912

Closure of the Schiller-Anstalt. 12 October: Brodsky Quartet Concerts move to the RMCM

1914

4 August: Britain enters the First World War. Brodsky and Carl Fuchs interned in Europe as enemy aliens

1915

17 April: Brodsky returns to Manchester. 23 October: Brodsky Quartet Concerts resume with Walter Hatton as 'cellist. Tuesday Mid-day Concerts established

1916

18 April: debut of the Brodsky Quartet at the Tuesday-Mid-day Concerts

1918

11 November: end of the First World War

1919

Early April: Carl Fuchs returns to Manchester

1920

18 March: Christopher Rawdon Briggs's last concert with the Brodsky Quartet. 22

March: Simon Speelman dies, to be replaced initially as violist of the Brodsky Quartet by Helen Rawdon Briggs. 22 November: first of the Brodsky Monday Noon Concerts, with Alfred Barker as second violinist and Frank Park as violist

1921

12 February: Busoni's last visit to Manchester, 12 February. 14 February: final Monday Noon Concert

1922

15 January: Helen Rawdon Briggs replaces Frank Park as violist of the Brodsky Quartet

1924

13 January: Brodsky Quartet's last appearance at the Ancoats Brotherhood subsequent to its closure on 12 October. 27 July: Busoni dies

1925

24 November: first radio broadcast of the Brodsky Quartet

1926

10 October: Carl Fuchs rejoins the Brodsky Quartet

1927

20 January: Brodsky's final appearance as soloist, in Elgar's Violin Concerto, conducted by the composer

1928

11 December: final concert of the Brodsky Quartet, at the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts

1929

22 January: Adolph Brodsky dies. 2 October: Anna Brodsky dies

1934

23 February: Elgar dies

1948

20 December: Christopher Rawdon Briggs dies

1951

9 June: Carl Fuchs dies

APPENDIX 2

Concerts given by the Brodsky Quartet at:

The Leipzig Gewandhaus

The Brodsky Quartet Concerts

The Schiller-Anstalt

The Ancoats Brotherhood

The Tuesday Mid-day Concerts

The Brodsky Noon Concerts

All concerts were given in Manchester except those given at the Leipzig Gerwandhaus

Locations for venues are given the first time the venue is cited

Abbreviations used in the Appendix

AB Adolph Brodsky

ABR Alfred Barker

AM Anton Maaskoff

CF Carl Fuchs

CRB Christopher Rawdon Briggs

CS Carl Schroeder

FP Frank Park

HB Hans Becker

HRB Helen Rawdon Briggs

HS Hans Sitt

JK Julius Klengel

LG Leopold Grützmacher

ON Ottakar Novaček

SS Simon Speelman

vn violin

son sonata

va viola

con concerto

vo 'cello

qt quartet

db double bass

qnt quintet

fl flute

sxt sextet

ob oboe

spt septet

cl clarinet

oct octet

bh basset horn

bn bassoon

hn horn

pf piano

| Date | Venue | Series | Performers | Works |
|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---|--|
| 1884 | | | | |
| 22 Nov | Old Gewandhaus Augustusplatz | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS LG) Carl Reinecke pf | Mozart qt K.590 - Reinecke Phantaisie op.106 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 29 Nov | Old Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS JK) Klughardt pf, Pfitzner va Leopold Grützmaker vo | Beethoven qt op.18 no.1 - Klughardt pf qnt op.43 - Brahms sxt op.36 |
| 17 Dec | Old Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS LG) Hans von Bulow pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Raff suite op.72 - Raff pf qnt op.107 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 1885 | | | | |
| 24 Jan | Old Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS JK) | Beethoven trio op.9 no.1 - Volkmann qt op.35 - Schubert qt D.894 |
| 21 Feb | Old Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS LG) Pfitzner va | Haydn qt op.54 no.2 - Herzogenberg qt op.12 no.1 (1st time) - Beethoven qnt op.4 |
| 14 Mar | Old Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB ON HS LG) Victor Bendix pf | Klughardt qt op.42 - Bendix pf trio - (1st time) - Beethoven qt op.130 |

| | | | | |
|-------------|--|-------------------------|--|---|
| 10 Oct | New Gewandhaus Augustusplatz inaugural concert | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Carl Reinecke pf, Petri, Bolland vn, Unkenstein va, Schroeder vo, Hinke, Tamme ob, Gentzsch, Stradtman cl, Bauer, Greiff bhn, Gumpert, Müller, Kirmse, Preusse hn, Weissenborn, Kunze bn, Wiegand cbn | Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 - Schumann pf qt op.47 - Mozart Gran partita K.361 |
| 21 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Willy Rehberg pf, Carl Schroeder vo | Brahms vo son op.38 - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 1886 | | | | |
| 6 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.1 - Draeske qt C minor (new) - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 20 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Julius Röntgen pf | Mozart qt K.499 - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Beethoven qt op.95 |
| 17 Apr | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Melanie Albrecht pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.1 - Volkmann pf trio op.5 - Beethoven qt op.127 |
| 17 Oct | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Schwabe db, Gentzsch cl, Freitag bn, Gumpert hn | Mozart qt op.465 - Volkmann qt op.49 - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 13 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Arthur Friedheim pf | Klengel qt G minor (1st time, MS) - Goldmark suite op.11 - Beethoven qt op.132 |

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| 19 Dec | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Carl Reinecke pf | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Reinecke pf trio op.38 - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 1887 | | | | |
| 19 Jan | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Willy Rehberg pf | Beethoven qt.op.18 no.3 - Jadassohn pf trio op.85 (1st time) - Schumann qt op.41 no.3 |
| 29 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Anna Elischer-Verhulst pf | Leo Grill qt no.2 (1st time, MS) - Rubinstein pf trio op.15 no.2 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 27 Mar | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Thuemer va | Haydn qt op.64 no.1 - Mozart qnt K.516 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 21 Oct | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Thuemer va Eugen d'Albert pf | Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 20 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Fanny Davies pf | Haydn qt op.74 no.3 - Ethel Smyth vn son op.7 (1st time) - Beethoven qt op.74 |
| 10 Dec | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Edvard Grieg pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 - Grieg op.45 (1st time) - Schumann qt op.41 no.2 |

1888

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| 2 Jan | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Johannes Brahms pf | Mozart qt K.590 - Brahms pf trio op.101 - Beethoven qt op.127 |
| 18 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Johannes Weidenbach pf | Grieg qt op.27 - Rubinstein vn son op.49 - Beethoven qt op.95 |
| 16 Mar | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Edvard Grieg pf | Schumann qt op.41 no.2 – Grieg vn son op.45 – Schubert qt D.810: Andante |
| 14 Apr | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB HS JK) Carl Reinecke pf, Schulz vo | Haydn qt op.76 no.4 - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 13 Oct | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) | Haydn qt op.64 no.5 - Volkmann qt op.35 - Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 17 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Margarethe Stern pf | Tchaikovsky qt op.30 - Mendelssohn pf trio op.49 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 15 Dec | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Leander Schegel pf | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Schlegel pf qt op.6 (1st time. MS) - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 1889 | | | | |
| 19 Jan | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Ferruccio Busoni pf | Schubert qt D.804 - Sinding pf qnt (1st time) - Beethoven qt op.18 no.1 |

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| 10 Mar | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Willy Rehberg pf | | Haydn qt op.76 no.3 - Schumann pf qt op.47 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 14 Apr | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Carl Reinecke pf | | Mozart qt K.387 - Haydn pf trio C major - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 12 Oct | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Carl Reinecke pf | | Beethoven qt op.18 no.4 - Schubert pf trio D.898 - Schumann qt op.41 no.3 |
| 2 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) | | Mozart qt K.465 - Brahms pf qt op.25 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 14 Dec | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Adolph Ruthardt pf, Hinke ob | | Cherubini - qt Eb major - Ruthardt - Trio for ob, va & piano (1st time, MS) - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 1890 | | | | | |
| 19 Jan | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Ferruccio Busoni pf | | Haydn qt op.77 no.2 - Sinding pf qnt - Beethoven qt op.95 |
| 1 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Fritz von Bose pf | 01-Feb | Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 - Rubinstein pf trio op.52 - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 22 Mar | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) May Brammer, Novaček II vn, Weber va, Wille vo, Edvard Grieg pf | | Spohr double qt op.87 - Grieg vn son op.13 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 4 Oct | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music | (AB HB ON JK) | | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Mozart vn son K.454 |

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| | | series | Carl Reinecke pf | - Beethoven op.132 |
| 1 Nov | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON CS) Rudolf Zwintscher pf | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Reinecke pf qnt op.83 - Beethoven op.59 no.3 |
| 13 Dec | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON CS) Meta Walther pf | Mozart qt K.464 - Brahms vn son op.108 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 1891 | | | | |
| 10 Jan | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Margarethe Stern pf | Novaček qt E minor (1st time, MS) - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Schumann qt op.41 no.1 |
| 7 Feb | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Theuber va, Ferruccio Busoni pf | Volkman qt op.14 - Busoni vn son op.29 (1st time) - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 11 Apr | New Gewandhaus | Chamber music series | (AB HB ON JK) Hans Sitt va | Haydn qt op.77 no.1 - Brahms qnt op.111 (1st time [sic]) - Beethoven qt op.127 |
| 1895 | | | | |
| 11 Nov | Schiller-Anstalt Nelson Street | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB, CRB, SS, CF) Emma Hiller voice, Helene Hieser voice Ed. Sachs piano | Brahms qt op.51 no.2 - Haydn qt op.17 no.5 |
| 1896 | | | | |
| 24 Feb | RMCM Devas Street | (Brodsky Quartet Concerts) | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Schumann qt op.41 no.3 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 26 Mar | RMCM | (Brodsky Quartet Concerts) | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt C major [K.465?] - Schubert |

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| | | | | qt. D.810 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 21 May | RMCM | (Brodsky Quartet Concerts) | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Mr. Nichols va | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Grieg vn son op.45 - Mozart qnt K.516 |
| 15 Nov | New Islington Hall Angel Meadow | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Schubert qt D.810: 2 mvts - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3: 2 mvts |
| 16 Dec | Gentlemen's Concert Hall Concert Street | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf Alexander Siloti, William Dayas pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.1 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 - Arensky suite 2 pfs |
| 1897 | | | | |
| 21 Jan | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf | Mozart qt K.387 - Sinding pf qnt - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 31 Feb | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 10 Feb | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Margarethe Petersen voice, Henry Smith vo, Enid Bridge pf | Schubert qt D.810 - Schubert Arpeggione son D.821: selection - Schubert Lieder |
| 24 Feb | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf | Volkman qt op.35 - Dvořák pf qnt op.81 - Beethoven qt op.95 |
| 31 Mar | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Henry Smith vo, Frederick Norton cl | Schumann qt op.41 no.2 - Schubert qnt D.956 - Mozart cl qnt |
| 10 May | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts Brahms memorial concert | (AB CRB SS CF) Fr. Pfeiffer van Beek voice, Max Meyer pf J. Nicholls va, Henry Smith vo | Schumann pf qnt op.44: In modo d'una marcia - Brahms pf trio op.8 - Brahms sxt op.36 - Lieder |

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| 27 Oct | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf | Mozart qt K.590 - Dayas vn son (1st time, MS - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 17 Nov | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Ferruccio Busoni pf, Harry Smith vo, J. Nicholls va | Brahms sxt op.26 - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Grieg qt op.27 |
| 15 Dec | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf | Haydn qt op.77 no.1 - Arensky pf trio op.32 - Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 1898 | | | | |
| 19 Jan | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, J. Nicholls va | Tchaikovsky qt op.30 (1st time in Manchester) - Brahms pf qt op.25 - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 16 Feb | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Arthur Catterall, Edward Hatton vn, Jack Holme va, Leo Smith vo | Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Spohr double qt op.87 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 20 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Arthur Johnston, Sydney Vantin pf | Beethoven lecture - Vn son op.47 - Pf son op.27 no.2 - Qts op.59 - Qt op.135: selection |
| 19 Oct | Association Hall Peter Street | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frederic Dawson pf, J. Nicholls va | Schumann qt op.41 no.3 - Beethoven vn son op.47 - Brahms qnt op.111 |
| 23 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf | Mozart qt K.458 - Saint-Saëns pf trio op.92 (1st time in Manchester) - Beethoven qt op.74 |
| 3 Dec | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB, CF) Fanny Davies pf, Leonhard Sickert voice, | Schumann vn son op.105 - Bruch Ave Maria - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - |

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| | | | Enid Bridge pf | Pf solos, Lieder |
| 21 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Ferruccio Busoni pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Novaček qt op.10 (1st time in Manchester b) - Beethoven |
| 1899 | | | | |
| 15 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt D major [sic] - Beethoven qt op.130: selection |
| 18 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Willam Dayas pf | Stanford qt op.64 - Brahms vn son op.78 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 15 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Frederick Norton cl, Franz Paersch hn, Akeroyd bn, John Hoffmann db | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2 - Brahms Hn trio op.40 - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 1 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Ferruccio Busoni pf | Mozart qt K.590 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 6 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 - Busoni vn son op.29 (1st time in Manchester) - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 1900 | | | | |
| 17 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Richard Mühlfeld cl | Beethoven qt op.131 - Brahms cl son op.10 no.2 - Mozart cl qnt K.581 |
| 22 Jan | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Irene Schaefsberg pf, Richard Mühlfeld cl | Brahms cl qnt op.115 - Brahms cl son op.120 no.1 - Mozart qt K.590 - Pf solos |
| 21 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frederic Dawson pf, Henry Smith vo | Haydn qt op.71 no.4 - Beethoven vn son op.96 - Schubert qnt D.956 |

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| 25 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Henry Smith vo | Schubert qnt D.956 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 7 Mar | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf | Beethoven qt op.95 - Tchaikovsky pf son op.37 - Brahms pf qt op.25 |
| 24 Oct | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edith Webster pf | Haydn qt op.20 no.2 - Schumann pf qnt op.44 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 7 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Isidor Cohn pf | Mozart qt K.465 - Brahms pf qt op.26 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 5 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf, Arthur Catterall va | Dvořák qt op.96 - Dayas vo son op.12 (1st time, MS) - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 1901 | | | | |
| 23 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf | Schumann qt op.41 no.2 - Schubert pf trio D.929 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.4 |
| 13 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf, E. Mills clt, Franz Paersch hn, Anderson hn, John Hoffmann db | Schubert qt D.804 - Tchaikovsky pf son op.37 - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 24 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Schubert qt D.810 - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 13 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Hannah Bryant pf, Arthur Catterall va | Beethoven qt op.127 - Brahms vn son op.100 - Mozart qnt K.593 |
| 4 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Adine O'Neill pf | Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |

1902

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| 5 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.5 |
| 22 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 (1st time in Manchester) - Beethoven pf trio op.1 no.3 - Schumann qt op.41 no.1 |
| 19 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf | Haydn qt op.20 no.4 - Busoni vn son op.36 a (first time) - Beethoven qt op.74 |
| 5 Mar | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Henry Smith vo, William Dayas pf | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 - Busoni vn son op.36a - Schubert qt D.956 |
| 8 Oct | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edward Isaacs pf | Volkman qt op.14 (1st time in Manchester) - Beethoven vn son op.12 no.3 - Haydn qt in Bb [sic] |
| 12 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Nerua pf | Novaček qt op.10 - Mozart pf qt K.478 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 10 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Wilhelm Backhaus pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.2 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 1903 | | | | |
| 11 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Volkman qt op.14 - Tchaikovsky qt op.11 - Beehoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 14 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf | Beethoven qt op.130 - Bach 2 vn con BWV.1043 - Tchaikovsky qt op.11 |
| 25 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.17 no.5 - Schubert qt D.804 - |

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| | | | Alexander Siloti pf | Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 |
| 11 Mar | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) William Dayas pf, John Holme va, Henry Smith vo | Brahms qt op.51 no.2 - Brahms pf qt op.60 - Brahms sxt op.36 |
| 4 Nov | Midland Hall Midland Hotel | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Arthur Friedheim pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.2 - Beethoven pf trio op.97 - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 2 Dec | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Ferruccio Busoni pf, Bertram Lewis va | Brahms qnt op.88 - Franck pf qnt (1st time in Manchester) - Mozart qnt K.614 |
| 1904 | | | | |
| 10 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Bertram Lewis va | Taneyev qt op.11 - Mozart qnt K.614 |
| 20 Jan | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) E. Mills clt, Otto Schieder bn, Franz Paersch hn, John Hoffmann db | Taneyev qt op.11 (1st time [sic]) - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 17 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Wilhelm Backhaus pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.5 - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Tchaikovsky qt op.22 |
| 9 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Isidor Cohen pf | Mozart qt K.428 - Strauss pf qt op.13 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 20 Apr | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Wilma Halle vn | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2 - Bach 2 vn con BWV.1043 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 9 Jun | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | (AB, CRB, SS, CF) Meta Diestel voice, Isidor Cohn pf | Dvořák qt op.96 - Strauss pf qt op.13 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 - Lieder |
| 19 Oct | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt D major [sic] - Brahms vn son |

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| | | | Robert J. Forbes pf | op.100 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 30 Nov | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Fanny Davies pf | Dittersdorf qt Eb - Schumann pf qt op.47 - Schubert qt D.887 |
| 21 Dec | Schiller-Anstalt | Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | Richard Strauss pf, Lawrence Atkinson voice, Mrs. J. S. Bridge | Strauss vo son op.6 - Beethoven serenade op.8 - Strauss pf qt op.13 - Lieder |
| 1905 | | | | |
| 15 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Beethoven qt op.18 no.3 - Schubert qt D.887 |
| 15 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf | Mozart qt K.421 - Dvořák pf qnt op.81 - Schumann qt op.41 no.1 |
| 15 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Wilhelm Backhaus pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Mozart qnt K.516 |
| 5 Apr | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Isidor Cohn pf, Arthur Catterall va, William Warburton vo | Beethoven qt op.95 - Dvořák pf trio op.90 - Brahms sxt op.18 |
| 1 Nov | Association Hall, Peter Street | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Wilhelm Backhaus pf | Haydn qt G major [sic] - Brahms pf qt op.60 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 22 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Sam Spielman va, William Warburton vo, Egon Petri pf | Mozart qt K.499 - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.2 - Brahms sxt op.36 |
| 13 Dec | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Adele Verne pf | Cherubini qt Eb major - Schumann pf qt op.47 - Beethoven qt op.95 |

1906

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| 14 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt K.499 - Cherubini qt Eb major - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 31 Jan | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Wima Hallé vn | Taneyev qt op.11 - Bach 2 vn con BWV.1043 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.1 |
| 28 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Richard Epstein pf, E. Mills cl, Otto Schieder bn, Franz Paersch hn, John Hoffmann db | Brahms pf qt op.26 - Schubert oct D.803 |
| 4 Apr | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf (Olga Neruda advertised) | Tchaikovsky qt op.30 - Franck vn son (1st time at these Concerts) - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 24 Oct | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf | Novaček qt op.10 - Beethoven pf trio op.1 no.3 - Schubert qt D.887 |
| 21 Nov | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Wilma Hallé vn (Isidor Cohn pf advertised) | Schumann qt op.41 no.2 - Spohr vn duo op.47 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 1907 | | | | |
| 9 Jan | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edith Robinson, Arthur Catterall vn, Helen Rawdon Briggs va, Mary McCullagh vo, Isidor Cohn pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.1 - Strauss pf qt op.13 - Mendelssohn oct op.20 |
| 13 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2 - Dvořák Terzetto op.74 - Schubert qt D.887 |
| 6 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) | Grieg qt op.27 - Brahms pf qt op.25 - |

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| | | | Edward Isaacs pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 27 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf (Egon Petri advertised) | Mozart qt K.387 - Franck pf qnt - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 23 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Olga Neruda pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va | Volkman qt op.35 - Schumann vn son op.105 - Beethoven op.29 |
| 12 Nov | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edward Isaacs pf | Grieg vo son op.36 - Grieg qt op.27 Grieg vn son op.13 |
| 1908 | | | | |
| 12 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.76 no.4 - Grieg qt op.27 |
| 21 Jan | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf | Haydn qt op.17 no.5 - Schubert pf trio D.929 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 4 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf, Leo Smith vo | Schumann qt op.41 no.3 - Mozart pf qt K.478 - Schubert qt D.956 |
| 3 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf, Edward de Jong fl | Beethoven serenade op.25 - Bach vn son BWV.1016 - Beethoven qt op.127 |
| 26 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Willbald Richter pf | Verdi qt (1st time in Manchester) - Brahms pf qt op.60 - Beethoven op.18 no.5 |
| 7 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Percy Grainger pf | Boccherini qt G.221 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 21 Oct | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.3 - Schubert pf trio D.898 - Beethoven qt op.130 |

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| 25 Nov | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf | Bonavia qt D major (1st time) - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 |
| 16 Dec | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf, Alfred Barker vn | Beethoven Grosse Fugue (1st time [at these Concerts]) Grieg qt F major: 2 mvts (1st time) - Franck pf qnt - Mendelssohn qnt op.87 |
| 1909 | | | | |
| 10 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Julius Klengel vo | Bonavia qt D major - Grieg qt F major: 2 mvts - Schubert qt D.956 |
| 27 Jan | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edward Isaacs pf | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Isaacs pf trio (1st time) – Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 24 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf | Bach vn son BWV.1016 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 |
| 17 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf, Alfred Barker va, Leo Smith vo | Smetana qt E minor (1st time at these Concerts) - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Brahms sxt op.36 |
| 3 Nov | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Ferruccio Busoni pf | Schubert qt D.810 - Beethoven pf trio op.97 - Mozart qt K.589 (1st time at these Concerts) |
| 1 Dec | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf, George Martin jnr. | Grieg qt F major [complete] (1st time) – Schubert pf qnt D.667 - Beethoven qt op.135 |

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1910

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|--------|--------------------|--------------------------|---|--|
| 16 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Alfred Barker va | Grieg qt F major [complete] - Mozart qnt K.515 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 23 Feb | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Manuel Esposito pf, E. Mills cl, Otto Schieder bn, Franz Paersch hn, John Hoffmann db | Volkman qt op.43 (1st time at these Concerts) - Esposito vn sn no.2 (1st time at these Concerts) - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 2 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Alexander Siloti pf, Alfred Barker va | Mozart qnt K.515 - Grieg vn son op.45 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 23 Mar | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Johanne Stockmarr pf, Alfred Barker va | Haydn qt op.76 no.1 - Sinding pf qnt - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 13 Apr | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf | Schumann qt op.41 no.1 - Dvořák pf qnt op.81 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 26 Oct | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Johanne Stockmarr pf | Haydn qt op.54 no.2 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven op.59 no2 |
| 16 Nov | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edward Isaacs pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.3 - Isaacs vn son (1st time) - Schubert qt D.887 |
| 14 Dec | Midland Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frederick Dawson pf | Borodin qt no.1 - Brahms pf qt op.26 - Beethoven qt op.127 |

1911

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|--------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|--|
| 15 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.20 no.2 - Schubert qt D.810: variations - Beethoven qt op.127 |
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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 15 Feb | Midland Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Mayer pf, Alfred Barker va, John Hoffmann db | Dvořák qnt op.77 - Saint-Saëns pf trio op.92 - Mozart qnt K.593 |
| 15 Mar | Midland Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf | Schumann qt op.41 no.3 - Strauss pf qt op.13 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 6 Apr | Midland Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Egon Petri pf, Collin Smith vo | Beethoven qt op.18 no.5 - Bach vn son BWV.1018 - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 27 Oct | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt G major [sic - K.387?] - Schubert qt D.804 |
| 1 Nov | Association Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Johanne Stockmarr pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.3 - Grieg vn son op.13 -Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 29 Nov | Association Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frederick Dawson pf | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 - Brahms pf qt op.60 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 20 Dec | Association Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Tina Lerner pf | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2 - Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 1912 | | | | |
| 7 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Schubert qt D.887 - Tchaikovsky qt op.22 |
| 31 Jan | Association Hall | Brotsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frank Merrick pf Sam Speelman, Ferruccio Bonavia vn, Alfred Barker va, John Hoffmann db | Bonavia oct A major (MS) - Mozart pf qt K.478 - Beethoven qt op.135 |

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|-------------|--------------------|--|--|--|
| 28 Feb | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts Sonata evening | (AB) Alexander Siloti pf | Bach vn son BWV.1015 - Beethoven vn son op.30 no.2 - Grieg vn son op.45 |
| 20 Mar | Association Hall | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf, Alfred Barker va, John Foulds vo | Mozart qnt K.516 - Schumann pf qnt op.44 - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 12 Oct | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Johanna Stockmarr pf | Haydn qt op.77 no.2 - Sindfing pf qnt - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 9 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Isidor Cohn pf | Mozart qt K.590 - Reger vo son op.116 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 7 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts Sonata evening | (AB) Egon Petri pf | Brahms vn son op.78 - Franck vn son - Bach vn son BWV.1016 |
| 18 Dec | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn - Mozart - Beethoven [no details] |
| 1913 | | | | |
| 13 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt K.458 - Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.3 |
| 22 Feb | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frank Merrick pf, E. Mills cl | Brahms cl qnt op.115 - Beethoven pf trio op.70 no.1 - Mozart cl qnt K.581 |
| 3 Apr | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Edward Isaacs pf | Prohaska qt op.4 (1st time) - Brahms pf trio op.101 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.1 |
| 24 Apr | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf | Schubert qt D.804 - Merz pf qnt op.3 (1st time) - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 1 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Dvořak pf qt op.87 - |

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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| | | | Tina Lerner pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va, Mary McCullagh vo | Brahm sxt op.36 |
| 13 Nov | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt C major [sic] - Mozart qt K.499 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 6 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Karin Dayas pf | Mozart quartet D major [sic - K.499?] - Brahms pf qnt op.34 - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 1914 | | | | |
| 14 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Haydn qt op.64 no.4 - Schubert qt D.804 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.3 |
| 17 Jan | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Frederick Dawson pf | Schubert qt D. 173 - Fauré pf qt op.15 (1st time at these Concerts) - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 21 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt K.465 - Tchaikovsky qt op.11 - Schumann qt op.41 no.1 |
| 28 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Margaret Stilwell pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Schubert qt D.810 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 |
| 31 Jan | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Robert J. Forbes pf | Beethoven qt op.18 no.3 - Lazzari vn son <i>[Musical Times also lists Brahms sxt op.18]</i> |
| 4 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mozart qt K.465 - Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Beethoven qt op.74 |

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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 11 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) | Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2 - Bach vo suite BWV.1007: selection - Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 13 Feb | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB) Alexander Siloti pf | Bach vn son BWV.1015 - Well tempered clavier: selection - Bach vn son BWV.1016 |
| 25 Feb | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF) Helen Rawdon Briggs va, Mary McCullagh vo | Brahms sxt op.36 - Bah vn son BWV.1001: Prelude and fugue - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 7 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS CF) Max Meyer pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va, John Hoffmann db | Novaček qt op. post. (1st time) - Schubert pf qnt D.667 - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 1915 | | | | |
| [12 Oct] | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS CF?) | "The Brodsky Quartet. First of ten Concerts". [No further details] |
| 23 Oct | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Robert J. Forbes pf | Haydn qt op.20 no.2 - Delius vn son no.1 - Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 20 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) John Wills pf | Verdi qt - Brahms vn son op.108 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 1916 | | | | |
| 9 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) Helen Rawdon Briggs va | Novaček qt op. post. - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 - Mozart qnt K.593 |
| 22 Jan | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) | Novaček qt op. post. - Dvořák pf trio |

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| | | | Frank Merrick pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va | op.90 - Mozart qnt K.593 |
| 19 Feb | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Max Mayer pf | Haydn qt D major [sic] - Fauré vn son op.13 - Schubert qt D.810 |
| 7 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts Extra concert - Sonata evening | (AB) Wassili Sapellnikoff pf | Franck vn son - Paderewski vn son - Beethoven vn son op.12 no.3 |
| 18 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Lucy Pierce pf, William Warburton vo | Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50, Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 18 Apr | Houldsworth Hall Deansgate | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) William Warburton vo | Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 18 May | RMCM | Brodsky sonata evening | (AB) Robert J. Forbes pf | Elgar vn con - Bach vn con [BWV.1041?] - Grieg vn son op.13 - Mesenkampff Petite suite: selection |
| 8 Aug | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 |
| 12 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) | Schubert qt D.810 |
| 16 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Robert J. Forbes pf Helen Rawdon Briggs va | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 - Debussy vo son - Mozart qnt K.516 |
| 1917 | | | | |
| 6 Jan | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 14 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) | Schubert qt D.810 - Tchaikovsky qt op.11: |

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| | | | | Andante cantabile - Mendelssohn qt op.44 no.2: Scherzo - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| [14 Feb] | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) | [No further details] |
| 27 Feb | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Tchaikovsky pf trio op.50 |
| 3 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Robert J. Forbes pf Helen Rawdon Briggs va | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 - Debussy vo son - Mozart qnt K.516 |
| 14 Aug | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Seth Lancaster vo, Leslie Heward pf | Brhms pf trio op.101 - Bach vn part BWV. 1002: Chaconne |
| 1 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Robert J. Forbes pf | Haydn qt op.76 no.5 - Busoni vn son op.36a - Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 29 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Max Meyer pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va | Novaček qt op.13 - Beethoven vo son op.769 - Mozart qnt K.593 |
| 6 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) | Mozart qt K.458 - Tchaikovsky qt op.11: Andante cantabile - Mendelssohn qt op.13: Canzonetta |
| 13 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Arnold Trowell qt op.25 (1st time in Manchester) - Dvořák pf qnt op.81 - Schubert qt D.804 |
| 1918 | | | | |
| 13 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) | Mozart qt K.465 - Schubert qt D.804 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.4 |

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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---|---|
| 15 Jan | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Anton Maaskoff vn, Lucy Pierce pf | Bach 2 vn con BWV.1043 |
| 21 Feb | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Evelyn Hope Squire pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va, Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Beethoven qt op.18 no.4 - Mozart vn son A major [K.526?] - Brahms sxt op.18 |
| 21 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Ellen Arthan pf, Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Mozart qt D major [K.499?] - Bach vn son BWV.1016 - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 30 Apr | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Helen Rawdon Briggs va, Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Brahms sxt op.36 |
| 21 Nov | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Haydn qt F major [op.77 no.2?] - Sydney Nicholson pf qnt (1st time, MS) - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 4 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) | Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 12 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Robert J. Forbes pf, Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Busoni vn son op.36a - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 1919 | | | | |
| 12 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) Lucy Pierce pf | Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Nicholson pf qnt - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 14 Jan | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 20 Feb | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) | Brahms qt op.51 no.1 - Dvořák |

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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| | | | Edward Isaacs pf | pf trio op.90 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 |
| 20 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) John Wills pf | Mendelssohn qt op.12 - Beethoven pf trio op.1 no.2 - Schumann qt op.41 no.1 |
| 25 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB) Robert J. Forbes pf | Elgar vn con op.61 |
| 3 Apr | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Max Meyer pf, Helen Rawdon Briggs va John Hoffmann db | Mozart qnt K.516 - Schubert pf qnt D.667 - Beethoven qnt op.29 |
| 12 Nov | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) | [No further details] |
| 4 Dec | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB AM SS WH) Frank Merrick pf | Haydn qt [no details] - Debussy vn son - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 1920 | | | | |
| 11 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB CRB SS WH) Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Haydn qt G major [sic] - Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 29 Jan | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB SS WH) Max Mayer pf | Mendelsson qt [no details] - Elgar qt op.83 - Schubert pf trio D.898 |
| 18 Mar | RMCM | Brodsky Quartet Concerts | (AB CRB HRB WH) - Lucy Pierce pf Otto Paersch hn, Harry Mortimer cl ? ? | Elgar pf qnt - Beethoven spt op.20 |
| 22 Nov | Houldsworth Hall | Monday Noon Concerts | (AB ABR FP WH) | Elgar qt op.83 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 |
| 6 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Monday Noon Concerts | (AB ABR FP WH) | Beethoven qt op.18 no.2 - Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |

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| 14 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) John Wills pf | Tchaikovsky vn con op.35 |
| 1921 | | | | |
| 9 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB ABR FP WH) | Haydn qt op.76 no.1 - Tchaikovsky qt op.22 - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 14 Feb | Houldsworth Hall | Monday Noon Concerts | (AB ABR FP WH) Kathleen Moorhouse vo | Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 1922 | | | | |
| 15 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Haydn qt D major [sic] - Beethoven op.9 no.1 - Tchaikovsky qt op.22 |
| 1923 | | | | |
| [7 Jan] | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB ABR HRB WH) | [No further details] |
| 15 May | Memorial Hall Deansgate | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 5 Jun | Memorial Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 19 Jun | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) Mary McCullagh vo | Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 27 Nov | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Haydn qt op.17 no.5 - Mozart qt F major [sic - K.590?] |
| 1924 | | | | |

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|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 13 Jan | New Islington Hall | Ancoats Brotherhood | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Haydn qt G major [sic] - Mozart qt K.590 - Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 22 Jan | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 18 Mar | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Haydn qt G major [sic] - Beethoven qt op. 18 no.6 |
| 13 May | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Grieg qt F major: 2 mvts - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 11 Nov | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Elgar qt op.83 - Schubert qt D.810: Variations |
| 1925 | | | | |
| 20 Jan | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.131 |
| 24 Feb | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Robert J. Forbes pf | Elgar vn con op.61 |
| 26 May | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) Mary McCullagh vo | Schubert qnt D.956 |
| 24 Nov | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.130 |
| 1926 | | | | |
| 2 Feb | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Novaček qt op.13 - Haydn qt op.17 no.5 |
| 30 Mar | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB WH) | Beethoven qt op.132 |
| 1 Jun | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Adolphe Hallis pf | Bach vn son BWV.1016 |

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| 10 Oct | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Haydn qt op.17 no.5 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.6 |
| 1927 | | | | |
| 25 Jan | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) Maurice Ward vo | Brahms qnt op.111 - Beethoven qt op.18 no.5: Variations |
| 5 Apr | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Beethoven Grosse Fuge - Beethoven qt op.135 |
| 10 May | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Robert J. Forbes pf | Elgar vn con op.61 |
| 25 Oct | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB) Robert J. Forbes pf | Bach vn con BWV.1041 - Brahms vn son op.78 |
| 1928 | | | | |
| 7 Feb | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Beethoven qt op.59 no.1 |
| 3 Mar | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Beethoven qt op.59 no.2 - Schubert qt D.810: Variations |
| 22 May | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Beethoven qt op.59 no.3 - Haydn qt op.76 no.3: Variations |
| 11 Dec | Houldsworth Hall | Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | (AB ABR HRB CF) | Tchaikovsky qt op.22 |

APPENDIX 3

A resumé of the principal chamber concert series to which Adolph Brodsky contributed

| Series | City | First concert | Last concert | Total involving Brodsky |
|--------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Hellmesberger Concerts | Vienna | 29 Nov. 1865 | 29 Nov. 1868 | 8 |
| Gewandhaus Concerts | Leipzig | 22 Nov. 1884 | 11 Apr. 1891 | 42 |
| Damrosch Quartet Concerts | New York | 6 Dec. 1891 | 7 Mar. 1893 | 16 |
| Schiller-Anstalt Concerts | Manchester | 11 Nov. 1895 | 21 Dec. 1904 | 8 |
| Brodsky Quartet Concerts | Manchester | 24 Feb. 1896 | 18 Mar. 1920 | 128 |
| Ancoats Brotherhood | Manchester | 15 Nov. 1896 | 13 Jan. 1924 | 38 |
| Rensburg Concerts | Liverpool | 27 Apr. 1902 | 1 Mar. 1903 | 2 |
| Tuesday Mid-day Concerts | Manchester | 18 Apr. 1916 | 11 Dec. 1928 | 35 |
| Monday Noon Concerts | Manchester | 22 Nov. 1920 | 14 Feb. 1921 | 3 |
| Beethoven Sonatas ¹ | Manchester | 2 Feb. 1921` | 2 Mar. 1921 | 3 |

¹ With the pianist Robert Forbes.